

IMPERIALISM
AND NATIONALISM

A STUDY OF CONFLICT IN THE NEAR EAST
AND OF THE
TERRITORIAL AND ECONOMIC EXPANSION
OF THE UNITED STATES

KIRBY PAGE

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OF THE TERRITORIAL AND ECONOMIC
EXPANSION OF THE UNITED STATES

BY
KIRBY PAGE

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IMPERIALISM AND NATIONALISM
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FOREWORD

Every person who desires to see war banished from the earth is under obligation to understand the real nature and actual consequences of imperialism and nationalism. Together they constitute an exceedingly grave danger to international peace. The full flower of European imperialism is visible throughout the Near East.¹ In this region may also be seen the fruits of unrestrained nationalism. An examination of the record of events in Turkey and the Balkans during the past century reveals the fact that the inevitable harvest of greedy imperialism and excessive nationalism is suspicion, hatred, violence and bloodshed.

In the following pages we have attempted to outline the most important historic events of the Near East. Some understanding of the history of this region is essential if we are to reach intelligent decisions concerning the emergencies which are constantly arising to threaten the peace of the world. The whole situation is so complex and full of uncertainty, prejudice and passion that no writer can be sure that he is free from bias and error.

The present writer does not claim to be an authority on Turkish and Balkan affairs. The very brief visit which he recently made to that region has been valuable chiefly as a means of intensifying his interest and of giving him certain very vivid impressions. He has, however, spent a considerable amount of time in familiarizing himself with a portion of the literature in this realm.

It is highly important that citizens of the United States should recognize the elements of grave danger in American imperialism and nationalism. The territorial and economic expansion of the United States has taken place so gradually that its significance has not been recognized by most people. The dangers inherent in a continuation of certain of our foreign policies has likewise escaped attention. Even a super-

¹ The term Near East is an indefinite one and various writers do not agree as to its limits. In this discussion we are concerned primarily with Turkey proper and the Balkan nations which were formerly a part of the Turkish Empire—Roumania, Jugo-Slavia, Bulgaria and Greece—with incidental references to Egypt and Palestine.

ficial examination of the trend of events, however, makes it clear that in our contacts with other nations *we are drifting into a situation which is full of menace for world peace.*

In the last two chapters we have endeavored to record certain facts concerning our expansion which need to be kept in mind as we attempt to evaluate the merits and defects of our present foreign policy.

The purpose of this discussion is three-fold: to furnish a background for the interpretation of current events in the Near East; to call attention to the calamitous record of European imperialism and nationalism; to present evidence of the dangerous trend of certain phases of the foreign policy of the United States.

To list all the books to which the writer is indebted in preparation of this manuscript would require much more space than is available; his primary obligations are acknowledged in footnotes. He desires to express his hearty thanks to the following persons who have read the manuscript and offered many valuable suggestions: J. L. Barton, President of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; Samuel Guy Inman, Committee on Cooperation in Latin America; Sherwood Eddy, National Council, Y. M. C. A.; S. M. Calvert, Federal Council of Churches; William Adams Brown, Union Theological Seminary; Harold A. Hatch; Ralph Harlow, formerly a missionary in Turkey. It is hardly necessary to say, however, that the writer alone is responsible for statements contained herein.

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IMPERIALISM AND NATIONALISM

CHAPTER I

IMPERIALISM IN THE NEAR EAST

Imperialism is the policy or practice whereby a nation gains control of foreign territory and foreign peoples. This domination may be political or economic in its nature. For many centuries the primary effort of nations was to gain political control of additional territory. During the last half century, however, the effort to secure economic advantages in foreign lands has been the dominant phase of imperialism. The rapid progress of industrialism in Europe and America is primarily responsible for economic imperialism. Industrial nations are not self-sufficient. They require raw materials from other lands. They must export goods to customers outside their own borders. They must find foreign fields for profitable investment of surplus capital.

Imperialism, therefore, includes the following practices: political control of territory; political control of strategic waterways, straits and canals; spheres of influence, economic concessions of minerals and raw materials; economic control of railways and other means of transportation and communication; supervision and protection of investments. Powerful armies and navies are necessary adjuncts to these policies and practices. Moreover, military alliances between groups of nations are inevitable under such circumstances. Thus imperialism and militarism are inseparable.

During the past two hundred years vast areas of Asia, Africa and the islands of the sea have passed under the political and economic domination of European powers. This expansion has been a major cause of friction between the nations and has resulted in numerous wars. The Near East has been the scene of one of the most bitter phases of the struggle between the imperialistic powers of Europe for control of the earth. The great natural resources of this area, combined with its strategic location in relation to the control of the trade routes to the Far East, have made it an exceedingly valuable prize.

The fact that Turkey, for several centuries ruler of most of this area, had been steadily declining in power and had come to be known as "the sick man of Europe," furnished the Western nations with an opportunity which they were not slow to grasp. The Turks have always been excellent fighters but have usually proved to be poor administrators. Their record is filled with inefficiency, corruption and violence.

The Turks, like many other conquering peoples, have always been more eager to collect taxes from the vanquished and to live on the labor of others than to administer justice and protect the rights of the oppressed. Concerning the situation in Macedonia, where conditions were not greatly different from those prevailing in other Turkish provinces, Professor J. A. R. Marriott of Oxford, an acknowledged authority in this realm, says: "There is, indeed, a painful monotony in the tale of Turkish misgovernment. Here, as elsewhere, the toiling peasantry were subject to a cross fire of exactions, and extortions, and persecutions. They suffered at the hands of the Moslems because they were Christians; they were exposed to the lawless depredations of the brigands, frequently of Albanian race, by whom the country was infested; they had to meet the demands, both regular and irregular, of Moslem beys and official tax-farmers; they could obtain no redress in the courts of law; life, property, honour were all at the mercy of the ruling creed."¹ Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, of Harvard University, in a very extreme statement, refers to the Turks as "a barbarous people whose government is oppression, whose tax system is plunder, and whose idea of war is torture, fire and blood."²

So long as the conquered peoples would acknowledge the sovereignty of the Sultan and pay taxes as assessed, the Turks were generally tolerant and allowed a considerable degree of autonomy and self-government. Conquered peoples were usually asked to become Mohammedans and were offered all the privileges of this status. If they refused, they were obliged to pay a special head-tax, and were allowed freely to practice their own religion. Those who refused to become Mohammedans or to pay the special taxes were put to the sword. There is general agreement that the Turks were usually tolerant of the religion of subject peoples. The government of Christians was entrusted to the heads of their own religion. The Christian patriarchs were given civil duties as well as religious functions. Herbert Adams

¹ The Eastern Question, p. 415.

² The Forum, Dec. 1924, p. 735.

Gibbons says the Turks "were the first nation in modern history to lay down the principle of religious freedom as the corner-stone in the building up of their nation."¹

Clair Price says: "Non-Moslems have been given far more tolerant treatment under the Caliph than religious dissenters had sometimes been given under Christian rule."² "In their wars of conquest," says E. Alexander Powell, "the Moslems exhibited a degree of toleration which puts many Christian nations to shame."³

On the other hand, the Turks have always been quick to stamp out with the utmost ferocity and cruelty any attempt at rebellion. Their history, like the history of many other nations, is filled with the record of terrible atrocities. Following the Morea uprising in 1821 the patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church and the Archbishops of Adrianople, Salonica and Tirnovo were hanged. For three days their bodies hung outside the episcopal palace and were then cut down and thrown into the Bosphorus. Many thousands of Christians were slaughtered.

In 1876 some Bulgarian Christians defied the Turkish officials and put one hundred of them to death. The Turkish army retaliated by annihilating whole towns and villages. Not less than 12,000 Christians were massacred with extreme brutality. In the years 1894-1896 approximately 100,000 Armenians were butchered by the Turks. In April, 1909, 30,000 Christians perished at the hands of the Turks at Adana and other places in Asia Minor. During 1915 and 1916 occurred the most terrible of all the massacres, when approximately a million Armenians were murdered or were deported and lost their lives as a result of hunger and exposure. In September, 1922, the city of Smyrna was destroyed, with an appalling loss of lives.⁴

The incompetency of the Turkish Administration and the repeated massacres of subject peoples gave the Western nations a welcome excuse for intervention and served as a cloak to hide their imperialistic designs. There is little evidence to show that the diplomatists of Europe were motivated by a genuine desire to render disinterested service to the oppressed peoples under the Turkish yoke. There is, however, a vast mass of evidence to indicate that these diplomatists frequently used the weaknesses and cruelties of the Turkish

¹ Quoted in *The Eastern Question*, p. 77.

² *The Rebirth of Turkey*, p. 27.

³ *The Struggle for Power in Moslem Asia*, p. 48.

⁴ For a full account of this tragedy see Edward Hale Bierstadt, *The Great Betrayal*, Chapter II.

Government as a means of arousing their own people and thus gaining support for their imperialistic ambitions in the Near East. Not one of the major powers of Europe has followed a consistent policy against Turkish misgovernment and cruelty. On occasions they have raised loud voices of protest against atrocities; but at other times, when it best served their own interests, they have remained silent or condoned these excesses. They have frequently incited minorities to rebellion and then left them to their fate. On numerous occasions various Western Powers have formed alliances with Turkey, and not infrequently they have fought with the Turks against other European nations. They have given little concrete evidence of a genuine desire to protect helpless minorities. On the other hand, in pursuit of imperialistic designs they have followed policies and engaged in practices which made inevitable the sacrifice of multitudes of helpless people. Let us examine this record more in detail.

France was the first great Western Power to establish friendly relations with Turkey. Early in the sixteenth century Francis I entered into an alliance with Suleiman the Magnificent "and presently the Christian world was treated to the edifying spectacle of a Christian town, Nice, being sacked by the united French and Turkish forces."¹ Among the ambassadors which Francis and his successors sent to the court of the Sultan were abbés and bishops. In 1583 the first English Ambassador was received at the Turkish Court. In 1587 Queen Elizabeth solicited the Sultan's cooperation "against that idolater, the King of Spain, who, relying on the help of the Pope and all idolatrous princes, designs to crush the Queen of England, and then to turn his whole power to the destruction of the Sultan and make himself universal monarch."²

From the outset of his reign (1682-1725), Peter the Great of Russia was determined to gain access to the Black Sea. During this period France, deeply jealous of Russia's influence in the Near East, openly sided with Turkey and rendered very able assistance. Indeed, it was to France that "the Ottoman Empire owed the new lease of life which it obtained in 1739." During the reign of Catherine the Great, Austria, becoming alarmed at the rapid advance of Russia, signed a secret treaty with Turkey and agreed to march to the assistance of the Sultan if the Russians crossed the Danube. In 1787 Turkey declared war against Russia and

¹ Abbott, Turkey, Greece and the Great Powers, p. 17.

² *Ibid.*, p. 77.

Austria retaliated by a counter declaration of war against Turkey. Gustavaus III of Sweden entered the fray by marching against St. Petersburg. This Swedish intervention proved to be the deciding factor and probably saved the Ottoman Empire from immediate annihilation.

Prior to this period England had not manifested any great jealousy toward the expansion of Russia. Indeed, she looked upon Russia as a possible ally against France. 1773 the elder Pitt wrote: "I am quite a Russ; I trust the Ottoman will pull down the House of Bourbon in his fall." But about 1790 British sentiment began to change and England soon became the most formidable barrier to Russian progress in the Near East.

During the Napoleonic period occurred one of the most peculiar alignments in the whole history of Europe: Great Britain, Russia, Turkey, Prussia, Naples and Portugal, all against France.

The effects of the French revolution are to be seen in all the councils of European statesmen throughout the half century which followed. Everywhere the existing authorities were afraid of revolt and constantly took counsel with each other as to ways of preventing such catastrophes. In 1821 an insurrectionary movement in Moldavia, now a part of Roumania, unfurled the flag of Greek independence from Turkey. This was followed by a more serious uprising against the Turks in Morea, a peninsula of Southern Greece. Russia sought to take advantage of the situation by aggressive action against Turkey. The Austrian rulers, however, were desperately afraid of revolutionary movements and would not offer any support to the Greeks. France and Prussia were in no mood for further war, especially in aid of revolutionists. England was divided in sentiment. Lord Byron led a strong movement in favor of Greek independence. The British Government, however, endeavored to maintain strict neutrality. Finally the Great Powers felt obliged to mediate. In the meantime the Turks fired upon British and French vessels in the Bay of Navarino. Without waiting for diplomatic advice from home, the French and British admirals ordered return fire and before night the entire Turco-Egyptian fleet had been destroyed. The news of this battle was received with consternation by the rulers of Europe. England was so determined to preserve the integrity of the Ottoman Empire that on January 29, 1828, the King felt impelled to "lament deeply that this conflict

should have occurred with the naval forces of an ancient ally" and expressed "a confident hope that this untoward event will not be followed by further hostilities."¹

In 1832 the Sultan found himself so seriously menaced by the approaching army of Ibrahim of Egypt that he appealed to the Great Powers. Czar Nicholas promptly offered his assistance to his traditional enemy. In February, 1833, a powerful Russian squadron sailed into the Bosphorus and anchored at Constantinople. This was followed by the appearance of a second and a third Russian squadron. Russian engineers proceeded to strengthen the defences of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. A treaty was entered into which "placed the Ottoman Empire under the military protectorship of Russia." England and France protested against the proposed violation of the neutrality of the straits. Metternich of Austria interposed with mediation and Russia agreed to refrain from enforcing the rights conferred by the treaty. In July, 1840, Russia, Prussia, Austria and Great Britain signed a treaty with the Sultan, in which, among other provisions, they agreed to defend Constantinople and to guarantee the integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

Ever since the days of Peter the Great, Russia had set before herself two supreme objectives: the domination of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, with the consequent control of Constantinople; and the protection of the Christian minorities under the sovereignty of the Sultan. The second of these objectives was constantly used as a means of advancing the first. Napoleon had demanded and received certain rights on behalf of Latin monks in Turkey. France had been supported by other Roman Catholic countries. These concessions aroused bitter resentment in Russia. Czar Nicholas demanded their recession, and in March, 1853, sent Prince Menschikoff to obtain full satisfaction at Constantinople. He demanded from the Sultan a virtual acknowledgment of the Czar's protectorate over all orthodox subjects of the Porte. This demand appeared to the British Government to be outrageous and inadvisable. The Czar was most eager to remain on friendly terms with England and in the spring of 1853 had a series of interviews with the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg. During these interviews the Czar made the following comment: "Turkey is in a critical state. We have on our hands a sick man—a very sick man: it will be, I tell you frankly, a great misfortune if, one of

¹ Marriott, *The Eastern Question*, p. 221.

these days, he should slip away from us before all necessary arrangements were made." Russia was willing to abandon temporarily the hope of occupying Constantinople. Serbia, Bulgaria and the principalities were to be independent states under Russian protection. England could have Egypt and Crete. But on one point the Czar was insistent: "I will never permit," he said, "an attempt at the reconstruction of a Byzantine Empire, or such an extension of Greece as would render her a powerful State: still less will I permit the breaking up of Turkey into little Republican asylums for the Kosuths and Mazzinis and other revolutionists of Europe; rather than submit to any of these arrangements I would go to war, and as long as I have a man or a musket left would carry it on."¹ England was aghast at these proposals and refused to be a party to any scheme looking toward the partition of Turkey.

Although Menschikoff obtained concessions from the Sultan, the latter refused the outright protectorship of Christians claimed by Russia. In this refusal the Sultan was strongly supported by the British Ambassador. The entire staff of the Russian Embassy then left Constantinople. A large Russian army was mobilized in Bessarabia and in July occupied the principalities. The Czar was confident that Austria and Prussia would side with him. In this hope he was disappointed. The combined fleets of France and England were moved in defence of Turkey. Russia continued her effort to extort from the Sultan a right of protection over the Christians. She thought she could secure it by bluffing or by force. The other great powers intervened and the famous Crimean War began. In this conflict Great Britain and France were active allies of Turkey against Russia, while Austria and Prussia gave Turkey diplomatic assistance. The war lasted from March 27, 1854, to March 30, 1856, and resulted in terrible losses of life, enormous destruction and heavy financial costs.

Historians are generally agreed that the Crimean War was one of the great blunders or crimes of history. Sir Robert Morier expressed the opinion of many when he described it as "the only perfectly useless modern war that has been waged." Lord Salisbury later said that "England put her money on the wrong horse." One significant result of the war was to give Turkey a new lease on life. Russia was publicly humiliated and checked in her advance upon

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 257, 258.

Constantinople. The successive efforts of Russia to gain Constantinople have been summarized in these words: "To reach her goal, Russia resorted to endless intrigue, formed diplomatic combinations galore, and waged nine wars."¹

A new epoch in Near Eastern affairs began in 1889 when the German Emperor William II visited Constantinople. This visit was significant as evidence of the new concern of Germany with Near Eastern affairs. Germany was very late in achieving her unity and when she appeared on the scenes after 1871 most of the valuable colonial prizes had already been seized. In 1886 a great German scholar wrote: "The East is the only territory in the world which has not passed under the control of one of the ambitious nations of the globe. Yet it offers the most magnificent field for colonization, and if Germany does not allow this opportunity to escape her, if she seizes this domain before the Cossacks lay hands upon it, she will secure the best share in the partition of the earth." The Kaiser, therefore, turned his eyes to the Near East. This attitude was in marked contrast to the old policy of Bismarck, who once declared: "I never take the trouble even to open the mail bag from Constantinople. . . . The whole of the Balkans is not worth the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier."

At the time of the Kaiser's visit, Abdul Hamid was Sultan of Turkey. Without doubt Abdul Hamid was one of the most cruel rulers who has ever reigned. He deliberately butchered many thousands of his Christian subjects. Yet the Kaiser was so eager to gain the support of Turkey that he said publicly while in Damascus: "May the Sultan and the three hundred million Mussulmans scattered over the earth be assured that the German Emperor will always be their friend."²

One of the fruits of the Kaiser's visit was the granting of a concession of the port of Haidar-Pasha to the "German Company of Anatolian Railways." This concession was exceedingly significant because of its bearing upon the proposed Berlin-to-Bagdad railway. Around the question of the construction and control of this railway was waged one of the most bitter diplomatic battles of the century. It is difficult to exaggerate the serious effects of the strained relations between the Great Powers which resulted from this contro-

¹ B. E. Schmitt, *England and Germany*, p. 255.

² G. P. Gooch, *History of Modern Europe*, p. 262.

versy. Certainly it was one of the major causes of the World War.

The region traversed by the Bagdad Railway is one of the most important in the world, because of the access it affords to vast stores of minerals, other raw materials, and agricultural products; and because of its strategic value from a political and military point of view. Therefore, all the major powers of Europe were vitally concerned over its control. Their economic backwardness and huge public debt prevented the Turks from building the railway themselves.

As far back as 1872 an eminent German railway engineer by the name of Wilhelm von Pressel had been employed as one of the Sultan's technical advisers and had helped to develop plans for railways in Turkey. On March 18, 1902, Abdul Hamid definitely awarded the Bagdad Railway Concession to a German company, the Anatolian Railway Company. These concessions were to run for ninety-nine years. Commenting upon the significance of the proposal, Professor Earle says: "The Bagdad Railway, as thus projected, was one of the really great enterprises of an era of dazzling railway construction. Here was a transcontinental line stretching some twenty-five hundred miles from Constantinople, on the Bosphorus, to Basra, on the Shatt-el-Arab—a project greater in magnitude than the Santa Fé line from Chicago to Los Angeles or the Union Pacific Railway from Omaha to San Francisco. It was a promise of the rejuvenation of three of the most important parts of the Ottoman Empire, eastern Anatolia, northern Syria, and Mesopotamia."¹

From the beginning Russia sought to prevent Germany from obtaining this valuable concession. French sentiment was divided. The French patriots were opposed to the advance of Germany, while French financiers with large investments in Turkey thought the construction of the proposed railway would be a good thing. The French Government gave tacit cooperation and French money was invested in the German company. In the beginning Great Britain was favorable to the German proposals. Anything to block Russia! Later, however, British sentiment changed. The increasing commercial rivalry between Germany and England made the British Government hesitate concerning the acceptance of Germany's offer to make the Bagdad Railway an international undertaking, financed and controlled by several powers. British shipping interests finally prevailed and

¹ E. M. Earle, *Turkey, The Great Powers and the Bagdad Railway*, p. 75.

Balfour rejected the German offer. "As events turned out," says Professor Earle, "the failure of the Balfour Government to effect the internationalization of the Bagdad Railway was a colossal blunder. If the proposed agreement of 1903 had been consummated, the entente of 1904 between France and England would have taken control of the enterprise out of the hands of the Germans, who would have possessed, with their Turkish collaborators, only fourteen of the thirty votes in the Board of Directors."¹

During the next ten years a furious diplomatic battle raged around this question. Throughout the whole controversy little concern was shown for the welfare of Turkey by the Western powers. They were not concerned about Turkey's need of railways; they were entirely pre-occupied with their own interests in the undertaking. Lord Curzon once remarked that he "would not hesitate to indict as a traitor to his country any British minister who would consent to a foreign Power establishing a station on the Persian Gulf."²

In 1910 the Kaiser and the Czar reached an agreement on the following points: (1) Germany recognized the Russian sphere of interest in Northern Persia; (2) Russia withdrew her objections to the German share in the Bagdad Railway; (3) Russia was free to obtain railway concessions in Persia. A Constantinople daily made the following pertinent comment concerning this agreement: "There is no mention of us" in this important treaty; "as if we had no connection with that line, and we were not masters of Bagdad and Basra and the ports of the Persian Gulf." It later developed that the French and British foreign offices had given their consent before this agreement between Russia and Germany had been signed. During the next three years great progress was made in unravelling the diplomatic tangle around this problem. On February 15, 1914, France and Germany signed a secret agreement containing the following provisions: (1) Northern Anatolia was regarded as a sphere of French influence; (2) Syria was also recognized as a French sphere of influence; (3) the regions traversed by the Anatolian and Bagdad Railways were defined as a German sphere of influence. This agreement was signed not only by high officials of the two Governments but also by prominent financial concerns of both countries. "No longer are treaties negotiated by diplomatists alone, but by diplomatists and bankers!"³ In 1913 an important Anglo-Turkish agreement was signed.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

² *Ibid.*, p. 212.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

On June 15, 1914, only a few days before the outbreak of the World War, an Anglo-German agreement had been incorporated in a draft treaty and was ready for formal ratification when the storm broke. "On the eve of the Great War," says Professor Earle, "the Bagdad Railway controversy had been all but settled."¹

On October 31, 1914, Turkey entered the war on the side of Germany. On March 20, 1915, Russia and Great Britain signed a secret agreement in which Great Britain consented to the Russian annexation of Constantinople and the Straits; and in return Russia agreed to maintain a benevolent attitude toward British claims elsewhere and to recognize the so-called neutral zone in Persia as within the British sphere of influence.²

On April 26, 1915, Great Britain, France, Russia and Italy signed the secret Treaty of London. By the terms of this treaty Italy was to receive the Trentino, the Southern Tyrol, Trieste, the country of Gorizia and Gradisca, Istria, Northern Dalmatia, numerous islands, additions to her colonial territory in Africa, and not least important, a prospective share in the partition of Asiatic Turkey.³

In the spring of 1916 Great Britain, France and Russia signed a secret agreement whereby Great Britain was to obtain Southern Mesopotamia, with Bagdad and two ports in Syria; France was to obtain Syria, the Adana vilayet and Western Kurdistan; Russia was to secure Trebizond, Erzerum, Bitlis, Van, and territory in Southern Kurdistan.⁴

On April 26, 1916, France and Russia signed the secret Sazonov-Paléologue Treaty, by which Russia was awarded full control over the vilayets of Trebizond, Erzerum, Bitlis and Van—an area larger than the State of New York; and by which France was to receive adequate compensation in the region to the south and southwest of the Russian acquisitions.⁵

On May 9, 1916, the famous Sykes-Picot Treaty was signed between Great Britain and France. France was to receive the Syrian coast from Tyre to Alexandretta, the province of Cilicia, and southern Armenia. In addition France was to have a zone of influence embracing the provinces of

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

² F. Seymour Cocks, *The Secret Treaties*, p. 15. This book contains an excellent summary of the various secret treaties entered into by the Allies during the war. See also Ray Stannard Baker's *Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement*, Vol. 1, pp. 23-81.

³ Cocks, *The Secret Treaties*, p. 27.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁵ Earle, *Turkey, the Great Powers and the Bagdad Railway*, p. 293.

Aleppo, Damascus, Deir and Mosul. Great Britain was to obtain complete control over lower Mesopotamia from Tekrit to the Persian Gulf and from the Arabian border to the Persian frontier.¹

In April, 1917, the so-called St. Jean de Maurienne Agreement was reached between France, Great Britain and Italy, by which Italy was granted complete possession of almost the entire southern half of Anatolia—including the cities of Smyrna, Konia and Adalia, together with an extensive "zone of influence" northeast of Smyrna.²

"In the case of Turkey," says Mr. Ray Stannard Baker, "the secret conversations did not stop with the entry of America into the war, they did not stop even after the acceptance of the Fourteen Points as the basis of peace with their provisions concerning open diplomacy and the agreement (in Point XII) regarding the disposal of Turkey. They were even continued secretly between Great Britain and France after the Peace Conference began to sit!"³

As soon as the Allies were victorious in the war they set about the task of taking possession of the various spoils. Italian troops occupied Adalia and vicinity. French armies replaced the British forces in Syria and Cilicia. Great Britain began the conquest of Mesopotamia and Kurdistan. By the Treaty of Versailles, all German rights in the Bagdad Railway and other economic enterprises in the Near East were abrogated. The Treaty of Sevres, August 10, 1920, carried this process a step further and left hardly a trace of German influence in the Near East. Furthermore, this treaty gave the Allies a strangle-hold upon the economic life of Turkey. The Capitulations—special privileges and immunities which foreigners in Turkey had long enjoyed—were re-established and extended. An Interallied Financial Commission was added to the old Ottoman Public Debt Administration and exercised financial control over the Turkish budget and had the right to veto any proposed concessions. "In control of its domestic affairs the new Turkey was tied hand and foot. Here, indeed, was a Carthaginian peace! And all of this was done"—according to the words of the Allied Tripartite Agreement of August 10, 1920—"in order 'to help Turkey, to develop her resources, and to avoid the international rivalries which have obstructed these objects in the past!'"⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 293, 294.

² *Ibid.*, p. 295.

³ Woodrow Wilson and the World Settlement, Vol. I, pp. 62, 63.

⁴ Earle, Turkey, the Great Powers and the Bagdad Railway, p. 303.

The ink was hardly dry upon the Treaty of Sevres before it began to be broken. The Turkish Nationalists never had any intention of observing it. They bitterly resented the Greek occupation of Smyrna in May, 1919. Under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, a Grand National Assembly was formed at Angora in April, 1920. Then followed a series of successful military campaigns. In the spring of 1921 separate treaties were signed with Russia, Italy and France, providing for the evacuation of certain Turkish territories. Then came the fatal blunder by the Greeks, the debacle of the Greek armies, the return of Smyrna and portions of Thrace to Turkey, the abolition of the Sultanate, the proclamation of the Turkish republic, and the entry of the Turkish army into Constantinople.

The dramatic recovery of the Turks was due in large part to the paralysis of the Western Powers, caused by divisions in their own ranks. Professor Arnold Toynbee has summarized the facts of the situation in the following words: "The first phase after the European War may be described somewhat as follows: France was backing Poland vigorously, and Hungary tentatively, against Germany and Russia; and she was backing Turkey tentatively against Russia and vigorously against Greece because Greece had been backed by Great Britain. Great Britain was backing Greece against Turkey, because an aggrandised Greece dependent on British support would save Great Britain the trouble of herself imposing her Eastern peace-terms. Italy was backing Turkey against Greece as payment on account for prospective economic concessions in Anatolia; and Russia was backing Turkey against Greece to deter her from purchasing the backing of any of the Western Powers who were Russia's enemies."¹

The overturn of the Treaty of Sevres necessitated the calling of the first Lausanne Conference, on November 20, 1922. Within a few hours, the old rivalry of the Western Powers for the dominant position in the Near East broke out again. The conference finally went on the rocks because the Allies insisted upon economic, financial, and judicial clauses which the Turks would not accept. Ismet Pasha, head of the Turkish delegation, said: "The treaty would strangle Turkey economically. I refuse to accept economic slavery for my country."

The second Lausanne Conference assembled on April 22, 1923. A month later it was announced that a syndicate of

¹ The Western Question in Greece and Turkey, p. 42.

British banks had purchased from the Swiss holders of German securities a controlling interest in the Anatolian and Bagdad Railway Companies. Thus, after twenty years of diplomatic conflict, Britain secured the prize which she had so long coveted.

SUMMARY

There can be no doubt that the domination of the backward parts of the earth by the imperialistic nations of the West has borne much good fruit. In many places disease and pestilence have been greatly reduced, famine practically abolished, education extended and superstition uprooted, anarchy and violence replaced by orderly government and due process of law, with the consequent increase in security of life and property. Moreover, the opening up of vast stores of raw materials has added enormously to the comfort and wellbeing of multitudes of people in all lands. One enthusiastic advocate says: "Imperialism is the greatest power in the world today, for it combines with the force and inspiration of national needs and ideals a code of international conduct, aiming at the spread of law and the maintenance of peace."¹

On the other hand, imperialism has been a major cause of war and has left its trail of blood in many parts of the earth. This phase of the record of Western imperialism in the Near East has been summarized by Professor Earle in these words: "European governments were not content to interfere in the affairs of the Ottoman Empire. They sought to destroy it. Their zeal in this latter respect was limited only by their jealousies as to who should become the heir of the Sick Man. Russia encouraged the Balkan and Transcaucasian peoples to resist Turkish domination; France acquired control of Tunis and built up a sphere of interest in Syria; Great Britain occupied Egypt; Italy cast longing glances at Tripoli and finally seized it; Greece fomented insurrection in Crete. Germany and Austria-Hungary sought to bring all of Turkey into the economic and political orbit of Central Europe. The Powers rendered lip-service to the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire, but they never allowed their solemn professions to interfere with their imperial practices. At best Turkish sovereignty was a polite fiction—it was always a fiction, if not always polite."²

¹ Sir Edward Grigg, *The Greatest Experiment in History*, p. 171.

² Turkey, the Great Powers and the Bagdad Railway, pp. 11, 12.

In the House of Commons, on March 18, 1914, Sir Mark Sykes said: "The Turkish Government, I know, have been accused of being corrupt. I venture to submit that it has not been for want of encouragement from Europeans that the Turks have been corrupt. The sinister—I think it is not going too far to use that word—effect of European financiers on Turkey has had more to do with the misgovernment than any Turk, young or old." In this connection Mr. G. F. Abbott says: "The annals of European diplomacy in Turkey reek with bakshish. There is not one Western representative of any nationality or epoch who has not left on record his faith in this homeopathic treatment."¹

Concerning the imperialistic struggle between the Great Powers, Mr. E. Alexander Powell says: "The story of that conflict forms a narrative of intrigue, trickery, selfishness, deceit, greed and hypocrisy, which has few parallels in history. . . . At the close of 1918 it seemed that the lessons taught by the Great War were so appalling that even the case-hardened diplomatists would give heed to them. Yet, before the soil has had time to settle on five million graves, the world once more finds itself caught up in the same mad merry-go-round of imperialism, intrigue, secret diplomacy, and all that follows in their train. Nothing is really changed. The old, bad methods which brought such disaster to the world have not been abandoned. The sleek diplomatists of Downing Street and the Quai d'Orsay and the Consulta are pursuing the same policies which obtained in the days of Talleyrand and Metternich, of Disraeli and Bismarck. They still cling tenaciously to the theory that it is the God-given right of the white man to impose his will on the black, the yellow and the brown; to achieve their ends they trade whole populations, heedless of their rights and desires, as callously as though they were so many herds of cattle; they are prepared, if need be, to send whole armies down to slaughter."²

Professor Philip Marshall Brown, of Princeton University, says: "The Powers of Europe, in their pursuit of imperialistic ends, had been blind to the needs and the rights of the peoples of the Near East. They had even stooped to use these peoples as pawns in the larger game of Balance of Power."³ In 1920 Viscount Bryce said: "The Eastern Question has been for a century or more the standing difficulty of European diplomacy. It would have been settled

¹ Turkey, Greece and the Great Powers, p. 4.

² The Struggle for Power in Moslem Asia, pp. 14, 15.

³ These Eventful Years, Vol. 2, pp. 148, 149.

many years ago but for the jealousies of Russia, France, Britain, and latterly, of Germany also.”¹ Professor Mears, of Leland Stanford University, declares that “the diplomacy of the Great Powers should be held largely responsible for the present condition of the Armenians.”² After a recent visit to the Near East, Professor John Dewey of Columbia University said: “A deeper and fuller acquaintance with the sufferings of all these peoples brings with it a revulsion. One becomes disgusted with the whole affair of guilt. Pity for all populations, majority and minority alike, engulfs all other sentiments—except that of indignation against the foreign powers which have so unremittingly and so cruelly utilized the woes of their puppets for their own ends.”³ Such is the record of imperialism in the Near East.

¹ Quoted in *Modern Turkey*, edited by Eliot Grinnell Mears, p. 15. This is probably the most comprehensive and up-to-date book on Turkey now available.

² *Ibid.*, p. 525.

³ *The New Republic* November 12, 1924, p. 268.

CHAPTER 2

NATIONALISM IN THE NEAR EAST

Nationalism is a sentiment. It is subjective. It is not produced by any one cause. It has many sources. Some of the factors which produce nationalism are: race, language, geography, religion, culture, history and tradition, common economic interests. In some cases many of these elements are combined, while in other cases most of them are lacking. Russia is a nation composed of forty-eight races, the United States has many more. Switzerland has three official languages. Many Canadians of Quebec speak French, but the Basques and Bretons of France do not. Few nations possess natural geographical boundaries and most of them are composed of peoples with various religious beliefs. Only a few nations are bound together by a common culture; most of them contain highly educated persons and illiterates, rich and poor, urban and rural communities. Frequently farmers and workers have more in common with similar groups across the frontier than with consumers and employers in their own cities.

"Nationality," says Israel Zangwill, "is a state of mind corresponding to a political fact." In the words of Professor G. P. Gooch, "nationalism is the self-consciousness of a nation." Professor Alfred E. Zimmern says: "Nationality, like religion, is subjective; psychological; a condition of mind; a spiritual possession; a way of feeling, thinking and living." Still another definition has been given by Ramsay Muir: "A body of people who feel themselves to be naturally linked together by certain affinities which are so strong and real for them that they can live happily together, are dissatisfied when disunited, and cannot tolerate subjection to peoples who do not share these ties."

In one sense nationalism is a very ancient sentiment; in another sense it is the creation of the nineteenth century. From one angle it is merely a development of the gre-

garioussness and "consciousness of kind" which led to the formation of the tribe and the early city-state. But as a consciously expressed doctrine, nationalism is very recent. "It may safely be said that before the period of the French Revolution no statesman, and no political thinker, had ever enunciated such a doctrine, or would have admitted its validity if it had been propounded to him."¹ An eminent historian has expressed the same idea in the words: "While patriotism is as old as human association and has gradually widened its sphere from the clan and the tribe to the city and the state, nationalism as an operative principle and an articulate creed only made its appearance among the more complicated intellectual processes of the modern world. The august conception of the unity of Christendom under the joint sway of Emperor and Pope was almost as unfavorable to national differentiation as had been the universalism of the Roman Empire; and though the latter centuries of the Middle Ages witnessed the steady growth of national consciousness and the high-souled patriotism of Joan of Arc, it was not until the political and religious system of mediæval Europe went down before the combined assaults of the Renaissance and the Reformation that the sovereign state emerged as the dominant type of political organization. In the fulness of time the doctrine of nationalism issued from the volcanic fires of the French Revolution, carrying its virile message of emancipation and defiance to the uttermost parts of the earth, and filling the Nineteenth Century with the insistent clamour of its demands."² Between 1820 and 1878 seven new nations took shape in Europe: Germany, Italy, Belgium, Greece, Serbia, Roumania and Bulgaria.

It will be noticed that four of these are Balkan nations. In no part of the world has the ferment of nationalism been more manifest in recent years than in the Near East. For many centuries the Turks dominated this whole region. In 1683 the Turks for the second time failed in their siege of Vienna. At that period they were masters of the whole of Southeastern Europe, including parts of Austria, Hungary, Poland, Southern Russia, and the territory occupied by the modern nations of Roumania, Jugo-Slavia, Bulgaria, Albania and Greece. Turkish losses of territory since 1699 are shown in the following table:³

¹ Ramsay Muir, *Nationalism and Internationalism*, p. 37.

² G. P. Gooch, *Nationalism*, p. 5.

³ W. S. Davis, *A Short History of the Near East*, p. 395.

Hungary	1699	Lost to Austria.
Crimea, South		
Russia, etc.....	1774	Virtual expulsion of Turks; 1784, annexation by Russia.
Egypt	1808	Virtual autonomy under Mehemet Ali; 1882, British occupation; 1914, repudiation of Turkish suzerainty, 1922, establishment of "Kingdom of Egypt."
Serbia	1815	Partial autonomy; 1829, complete autonomy; 1878, independence.
Roumania	1829	Turkish protectorate becomes nominal; 1878, independence. (Bessarabia non-Turkish since 1812.)
Greece	1829	Independence; 1882, 1913, 1920, additional Turkish lands annexed.
Caucasus Lands...	1829	and 1878, ceded in part to Russia.
Bulgaria	1878	Weak protectorate; 1885, Eastern Roumelia added; 1908 independence.
Bosnia	1878	Under Austrian control; 1908, annexed by Austria.
Cyprus	1878	Ceded to Britain.
Tripoli	1912	Surrendered to Italy.
Albania	1913	Cut adrift from Turkey.
Macedonia	1913	Divided between Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria
Thrace	1913	Lost in part to Bulgaria (later to Greece)
Ægean Islands		
and Crete.....	1913	Lost to Greece
Arabia	1918	Seceded as "Kingdom of Arabia."
Palestine	1918	Occupied by Britain, for "Zionists."
Mesopotamia	1918	Occupied by Britain and Arabian insurgents
Gallipoli Peninsula	1920	Occupied by Allied Western Powers
Syria	1920	Occupied by France.

Leaving after the World War to the successors of Mohammed II, Selim the Grim, and Solyman the Magnificent the remaining possession of Anatolia, plus the city of Constantinople with Eastern Thrace.

The revolutionary movements and the rise of nationalism were a major cause of Turkish atrocities during the last fifty years. "The primary motive," says Professor Marriott, "which animated Abdul Hamid was beyond all question not fanaticism but fear. Greeks, Roumanians, Serbians, and Bulgarians; one after another they had asserted their independence, and the Ottoman Empire was reduced to a mere shadow of its former self. That these events had caused unrest among the Armenians, even though Armenia was not like Roumania or Bulgaria, a geographical entity, it would be idle to deny. Abdul Hamid was terrified."¹

During the two Balkan Wars in 1912 and 1913, the various

¹ The Eastern Question, p. 397.

Balkan countries were guilty of many excesses. So outrageous was the conduct of the different armies, Greece, Serbia and Roumania against Bulgaria that at the end of the second war the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace appointed a special commission of distinguished neutrals to investigate the causes and conduct of the conflict. This commission issued a 413 page report,¹ from which the following sentences are quoted: "Folk-songs, history and oral tradition in the Balkans uniformly speak of war as a process which includes rape, pillage, devastation and massacre. . . . Populations were massacred *en masse*. Systematically and in cold blood, the Greeks burned one hundred and sixty Bulgarian villages and destroyed at least 16,000 Bulgarian homes. A young woman at Haskova stated that she had seen the Greeks sprinkle her husband and some other men with petrol and then burn them. . . . Widespread and almost universal maltreatment of women and girls by the soldiers of the three nations has left behind moral consequences which cannot be estimated."² Among the atrocities which were committed by some or all of the armies were: eyes were gouged out, ears and nose were cut off, bones were crushed, men were disemboweled, others were roasted to death.

At the outbreak of the World War all the Balkan nations had achieved independence from Turkey, except for scattered populations in Eastern Thrace. Several millions of Balkan peoples, however, were still under the domination of Russia, Austria and Hungary, notably in Bessarabia, Transylvania, Bosnia, Croatia, and Slovenia. The World War resulted in drastic changes in national boundaries in the Near East. The size of Roumania was doubled by the addition of Bessarabia, Transylvania, Bukovina and part of the Banat. Jugo-Slavia was formed by uniting Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia, Slovenia, and part of the Banat. Greece was awarded Thrace. Bulgaria lost territory to Jugo-Slavia and to Greece.

The war and the territorial changes have greatly intensified the sentiment of nationalism everywhere in the Balkans. There has been a marked revival of interest in the history, culture and language of the various nations. Patriotism has never been more intense than in the post-war period. Extreme emphasis upon nationalism usually leads

¹ Report of the International Commission to Inquire Into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 108, 151, 267.

to governmental excesses. There have been conspicuous illustrations of this fact since the war.

Roumania was not satisfied with her enormous gains from the war. In 1919 Roumanian troops invaded Hungary and for several months occupied Budapest. During their stay they did great damage and when they evacuated the city they carried with them grain, fodder, cattle, 1,151 locomotives, 40,950 railway carriages, all the post-office motor cars from Budapest, 4,000 telephone installations from the Budapest Central exchange, the telephones and typewriting machines from the Government offices and schools, beds and bed linen from hotels and prisons, scientific apparatus from the schools, machinery from factories.¹

At various times from 1919 to 1921 Serbian (Jugo-Slav) troops invaded Albania, "taking possession of about one-sixth of that country's area." On April 29, 1921, the Albanian Government addressed a protest to the League of Nations, in which it maintained that "140 villages had been destroyed and 6,603 houses burned, 238 Albanians had been butchered, 200 shot, and 300 burned alive, including some women and children; also that considerable property had been confiscated. More than 40,000 Albanians, it was stated, had been obliged to evacuate the devastated region."² At the end of 1924 there was further trouble between Jugo-Slavia and Albania, and an appeal was made to the League of Nations by Albania.

Greece was another victorious nation which has committed grave excesses since the Armistice. As the price for abandoning neutrality and entering the war, the Allies had promised Greece substantial territorial acquisitions in Asia Minor. Venizelos, the Greek leader during this period, had dreams of uniting all Greek-speaking peoples under one rule and of reviving the ancient glories of Greece. The Greek delegates at the Peace Conference made strenuous efforts to secure the annexation of Northern Epirus, Thrace, Smyrna and a large portion of the western littoral of Asia Minor and the Dodecanese islands. It will be recalled that at the Peace Conference, the Allies authorized Greece to occupy Smyrna, in Asia Minor, and that at the San Remo Conference in 1920 she was given a mandate in Smyrna and Eastern Thrace. The Greeks were not satisfied. While the Treaty of Sevres was being negotiated they launched an

¹ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. 31, p. 417.

² Frances Kellor, *Security Against War*, Vol. I, p. 184.

offensive against Brusa. In August, 1921, they made an unsuccessful effort to reach Angora. In July, 1922, they transferred 40,000 troops from Asia Minor to Thrace and demanded of the Allied Powers permission to occupy Constantinople. Within a few weeks Turkish Nationalists under Mustapha Kemal Pasha attacked and utterly routed the Greek troops in Asia Minor. On September 9th Smyrna was burned, with an appalling loss of life. In November the Greek Government arrested and tried for high treason a number of their former officials, including three former Premiers, two former ministers and a General. On the 28th of the month they were found guilty and shot.

During the period the Greek troops were in Asia Minor they were frequently guilty of atrocities. Professor Arnold J. Toynbee says: "Within a few hours of the landing, the troops committed a bad massacre in the city; within a few days they advanced into the interior; and a new and devastating war of aggression against Turkey began in her only unravaged provinces. During the early summer of 1921, I was for some weeks in intimate contact with Greek soldiers and civilians then engaged in atrocities upon Turkish peasants, and with the survivors of their victims whom the Ottoman Red Crescent was attempting to rescue. My strongest impression during this horrible experience was of something inhuman both in the bloodthirstiness of the hunters and in the terror of the hunted."¹

The victorious Balkan nations were not only insatiable in their desire for additional territory, they were often guilty of oppressing the minority groups—that is, persons with a different language and culture—within their borders. The number and location of these minority groups under foreign control in Europe are indicated in the following table:

Germans	7,594,000
Magyars (Hungarians)	2,803,000
Bulgarians	1,339,000
Jugo-Slavs (in Italy)	480,000
Ruthenes (in Czecho-Slovakia)	432,000
Ruthenes (in East Galacia)	3,700,000
Ruthenes (in Roumania)	300,000
Poles (in Czecho-Slovakia)	167,000

Total number of Racial Minorities in Europe 16,815,000²

¹ A. J. Toynbee, *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey*, pp. 35, 262.

² See Noel Buxton and T. P. Conwil-Evans, *Oppressed Peoples and the League of Nations*, p. 82.

The chief minority groups in the Balkan States are now Germans, Hungarians and Bulgarians. They are divided as follows:¹

HUNGARIAN MINORITIES

In Roumania	1,485,000
Magyars	1,200,000
Germans	285,000
In Jugo-Slavia	829,000
Magyars	573,000
Germans	256,000
In Czecho-Slovakia	1,030,000
Magyars	3,344,000
Population of Hungary (1921)	7,840,000

BULGARIAN MINORITIES

In Roumania	339,000
In Greece (Thrace)	300,000
In Jugo-Slavia	700,000
	1,339,000
Population of Bulgaria (1921)	4,500,000

Racial minorities in the various Balkan states have usually been subjected to great oppression. Since the Armistice this oppression has not ceased. Numerous illustrations are given by Noel Buxton and Conwil-Evans in their book "Oppressed Peoples and the League of Nations." They say: "Those Macedonians who resisted the assimilating methods of the Serbs were hunted down by the troops and shot at sight. Fugitives were offered a free pardon, if they gave themselves up, but this declaration was hedged round with an alarming number of conditions and reservations. Failure to surrender oneself was visited upon the fugitive, his family and the village in which he lived; the 'rebel' would be pursued by the gendarmerie and killed, his family deported and the whole village evacuated should any attempt have been made to shelter or feed him. . . . The record of Greece is as bad as that of Serbia. The non-Greek populations of Greek Macedonia have suffered equally with those of Thrace. . . . Bulgarian schools, churches and other institutions in Thrace were closed, and Bulgarian teachers, priests, doctors and lawyers expelled. A system of arbitrary arrest prevailed, and severe penalties were imposed often for

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 81.

charges that were false and fantastic. Bulgarians were forcibly conscripted into the Greek army and sent to the Asia Minor front.”¹

The Magyar minorities in Transylvania have likewise been oppressed and subjected to grave injustices by the Roumanians. “My experience of the working of the Agrarian reform,” says a writer in a recent issue of the *Fortnightly Review*, “has amply confirmed the view that the Roumanians, in order to expropriate Hungarian landlords and force them to evacuate the country, are openly disregarding every clause of the Peace Treaty that is calculated to protect minority interests.”² The persecution and massacres of Armenians and Greeks by the Turks is too well known to require elaboration at this point. “As regards minorities,” says Professor Toynbee, “it is notorious that in the Near East (if not all the world over) they invariably need protection against the dominant nationality in the state to which they belong.”³

It was this reason that the Treaty of Lausanne arranged for the compulsory exchange of populations between Greeks and Turks. Since January 1, 1924, more than 400,000 Moslems have been torn from their homes in Macedonia and shipped to Anatolia; while during this period more than 100,000 Greeks have been moved from Asia Minor to Greece. Previously several hundred thousand Armenians and Greeks had fled from their homes in Turkey. During the two Balkan wars “more than 500,000 Turks were driven pell-mell from their Macedonian and Thracian homes in terror of the victorious armies of the Balkan allies.” This compulsory migration has caused incalculable suffering and misery. The magnitude of the problem has almost overwhelmed both Greece and Turkey. The Near East relief has rendered heroic and effective service to the refugees, but the resources available have been pitifully inadequate to meet the appalling conditions which have prevailed. “That so cruel and perilous an experiment,” says Professor Earle, “must be undertaken in the twentieth century is more than a vivid illustration of religious bigotry and callous indifference to human happiness. It is a challenge to our whole system of statecraft, built upon the vicious principle of unimpaired national sovereignty. It should compel attention to the ques-

¹ pp. 89-91.

² Francis Maxwell, *Fortnightly Review*, July, 1924, p. 113.

³ *Foreign Affairs*, Sept. 15, 1923, p. 91.

tion whether man was created for nationality or nationality for man." ¹

TURKISH NATIONALISM

Nationalism of an extreme variety is to be found at the present time in Turkey. The Young Turks' movement during the first decade of this century greatly stimulated patriotic sentiment. This movement was launched by a group of politicians and patriots, most of whom had studied in the university of Western Europe. It had as its objective the securing of parliamentary government and the transformation of Turkey into a modern progressive state. In 1908 they gained sufficient strength to compel the Sultan to restore the Constitution of 1876 and to inaugurate parliamentary government. In 1909 Abdul Hamid was deposed. The patriotic efforts of the young Turks to "Ottomanize" their country led them to suppress free speech, to standardize education, and to repress anti-Ottoman agitation. Their severity was one cause of the First Balkan War in 1912.

While the Young Turks' movement stimulated devotion to country, the present nationalistic movement is due primarily to the excesses of the Allied Powers after the Armistice. The weakness of the Constantinople Government compelled the acceptance of the harsh terms of the Treaty of Sevres. But by this time the Government at Constantinople did not represent Turkey and had very little power. Real power was then in the hands of Mustapha Kemal Pasha and the Nationalist Party. Kemal was an army officer who had taken part in the revolution of 1909 which overthrew the Sultan. During the World War he commanded a division at Gallipoli and became a national hero. After the Armistice he was one of the leaders of the Nationalist movement. The occupation of Smyrna by the Greeks in May, 1919, had an electric effect upon the Turkish people. Everywhere they were aroused to fury and began flocking to Kemal's banner. The situation was intensified when the Constantinople Government declared Kemal to be an outlaw and sent a body of troops to arrest him. These troops deserted to Kemal. In September, 1919, the Nationalists elected a standing council of twelve members to sit continuously at Angora, an interior town. On October 5th the Sultan called a general election.

¹ Asia Magazine, January 1925, p. 49.

The result was an overwhelming victory for the Nationalists. On January 28, 1920, the Parliament adopted "The Turkish National Pact." On April 11th the British authorities in Constantinople suppressed the Turkish Parliament, arresting and deporting to Malta some forty deputies and a hundred other persons known to be in sympathy with the Nationalist movement. On April 23, 1920, a new parliament, under the title of the Grand National Assembly opened the first session at Angora, with Mustapha Kemal as President. On June 17th it adopted a Constitution. So powerful did this movement become that the Treaty of Sevres was scrapped. The first Lausanne Conference broke up because the Turks were strong enough to resist the divided Allies. The second Lausanne Conference resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Turks. To understand the full significance of the Turkish triumph it is necessary to examine three documents: The Treaty of Sevres, The National Pact and the Treaty of Lausanne.

The Treaty of Sevres was signed by the Constantinople Government on August 10, 1920. Its chief provisions are as follows: The Sultan retains Constantinople but with distinct limitation of sovereignty; the Straits are neutralized and demilitarized; Greece is given a protectorate of Smyrna and Hinterland; Greece also receives Thrace and five islands; Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia and Palestine and the Hejaz are declared to be independent states; Italy receives Rhodes and several other islands; the British protectorate over Egypt and the British annexation of Cypress are confirmed; the size of the Turkish army is limited to 50,000 men; the Capitulations are re-established.

In striking contrast to this treaty, is the National Pact or Declaration of Independence of the Angora Government. The pact contains six articles, the most important of which reads: "Our highest and most vital principle is to have entire independence, with which, as in the case of all other countries, we shall be able to develop ourselves both socially and economically. We are opposed to all restrictions which are but obstacles to our political, judicial, and economic development. The terms of the payment of our debts, which will certainly be settled, must not be contrary to the spirit of this principle."¹

On July 24, 1923, the Treaty of Lausanne was signed and

¹ Herbert Adams Gibbons, *Europe Since 1918*, p. 448.

has since been ratified by the Powers concerned.¹ This treaty represents a great triumph for the Turks and includes practically all the demands contained in the National Pact. Constantinople goes back to Turkey and all foreign troops are to be withdrawn. The Turkish boundary in Europe is restored to that existing in 1914, with a few minor changes. Turkey renounces all rights to Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Arabia, Palestine and a number of islands. The Bosphorus and Dardanelles are to remain open to warships and merchant ships of all nations. A demilitarized zone is established on either side of the straits and in Thrace. No provision is made for an independent Armenia. Greeks in Turkey, outside of Constantinople, and Turks in Greece are to be exchanged. The Capitulations are entirely demolished. This means that foreigners in Turkey no longer have a privileged status but must now live under Turkish laws and be subject to Turkish courts. Foreign legal advisers are to be appointed, but they are to have only advisory powers. The treaty recognizes Turkey as a sovereign nation, and as such is entitled to equality of treatment from other nations. The present Government is decidedly nationalistic and anti-foreign. It is determined that Turkey shall be free from all outside interference—political, economic, educational, religious.

Whether or not the Nationalists will succeed with their program cannot be foretold. They are certainly confronted with gigantic obstacles. It remains to be seen whether or not the Turks can successfully manage their own economic and financial affairs. Hitherto they have confined themselves primarily to such professions as the army, civil service, law, medicine, and agriculture, and for the most part have left trade, banking and industry to the Greeks and Armenians. The Turks have the reputation of being poor business men and inefficient administrators. Certainly they are, on the whole, lacking in experience in these realms. Not only are they now attempting to get along without the help of the millions of Greeks and Armenians who have been killed or transported, they are likewise driving out American and European business men, by drastic tariff regulations,

¹ See the New York Times Current History Magazine, October, 1923, for the complete text of the Lausanne Treaty. The Turco-American Treaty, which is now before the United States Senate, should not be confused with the Lausanne Treaty, although its contents are very similar. During his recent visit to Constantinople the writer did not find a single person—missionary, business man or official—who believed that we should refuse to ratify this treaty. For the text of the Turco-American Treaty see Edgar W. Turlington, *The American Treaty of Lausanne*, published by the World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston.

frequent interference by petty officials, heavy taxation and the frequent failure to administer justice in the Turkish courts, which are now the only courts available. Foreign trade is now at a very low ebb and practically no foreign capital is being invested in Turkey. The economic and financial crisis, after twelve years of continuous war, would have been serious in any case. It has been greatly aggravated and intensified by extreme nationalism.

Moreover, the Government must contend with the ancient tradition and practice of corruption in office. For many centuries most Turkish officials have lived by graft and dishonesty. The present Government undoubtedly contains at least a few men of proved integrity and devotion, but the number of such men is wholly inadequate. The rank and file of Turkish people are ignorant peasants, utterly lacking in experience with democratic government. Long experience has demonstrated that popular government requires a foundation of moral character if it is to endure. Turkey sadly needs a greater number of men of high character. The fact that the Koran sanctions plurality of marriage and allows concubinage, has tended to degrade womanhood, and to spread immorality. Sexual vice is widespread and is doing its deadly work. The physical consequences alone are tragic.¹ The effects upon character are even worse. Truly the obstacles confronting the Government are stupendous.

There are, however, several favorable factors in the present situation. The most important of these is the will to succeed which is everywhere being manifested. The Turks are determined to run their own affairs and are putting forth unusual efforts toward this end. The fact that the Government, by the abolition of the Caliphate, has abandoned the policy of Pan-Islamism and imperialism, makes it possible to concentrate upon domestic affairs. Then, too, the present population is more homeogeneous, as a result of massacres and deportations. Many of the causes of friction have thus been eliminated. Not the least important factor is the changed status of Turkish women. During the last two decades there have been profound changes in the position and outlook of women in Turkey. They are rapidly assuming po-

¹ "In one generation the Moslem population of Anatolia has declined by no less than 30 per cent, a truly appalling figure. The reason for this grave state of affairs is connected, not so much with combat warfare, but with the frightful inroads made upon the national physique by venereal diseases, the propagation of which was enormously intensified by the application of conscription . . . The provinces of Castamouni, Sivas, and Konia are especially affected by the venereal scourge, and in certain districts the entire population, male and female, adult and juvenile, is infected." (*Fortnightly Review*, March 1, 1924, p. 457.)

sitions of influence in public life. There is the further favorable fact that the peoples of Western Europe have had enough of war for the present and probably will not in the near future tolerate further armed conflicts by their Governments in pursuit of imperialistic designs. Thus Turkey probably has gained a breathing-spell in which to set her house in order. What she will do with this opportunity remains to be seen.¹

SUMMARY

Thus we see that everywhere in the Near East nationalism is one of the most powerful factors with which we must reckon. It is exceedingly difficult to draw up an accurate balance sheet which will show credit and debit side of nationalism. It has certainly been a chief means of arousing a patriotic devotion in the various nations and has led to political liberty, not only for the Balkan states but for the peoples of Turkey as well. "The instinct of Nationality," says Professor J. Holland Rose, "has endowed the European peoples and Japan (perhaps soon we shall add China) with a vitality and force which resembles, say, the incoming of steam-power into industry. What previously had been minutely sub-divided and inert became united, vigorous, aggressive."² In one of the publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace we find these words: "Wherever and whenever in the Balkans national feeling became conscious, then, and to that extent, does civilization begin."³

On the other hand, the evil fruits of nationalism are everywhere manifest. In the name of patriotism acts of aggression have been justified, other peoples oppressed, suspicion and hatred engendered, artificial economic barriers created and wars waged. Professor H. Morse Stephens, in his Presidential address before the American Historical Association, says: "Just as a fervent belief in Christianity, based upon history and dogmatic theology, led to a belief in the righteousness of slaying Mohammedans in the period of the Crusades; just as a fervent belief in Catholicism or Lutheranism or Calvinism, based upon history and dogmatic theology, was held to justify religious persecution and the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in

¹ For favorable accounts of Turkish nationalism see E. Alexander Powell, *The Struggle for Power in Moslem Asia*; and Clair Price, *The Rebirth of Turkey*.

² *Nationality in Modern History*, p. 155.

³ *Nationalism and War in the Near East*, p. 31.

Europe; just as a fervent belief in different political theories led, in part at least, to the civil wars in England in the seventeenth century and in the United States of America in the nineteenth century; so a fervent belief in the doctrine of nationality has led to enmity between nations in the nineteenth century. . . . National patriotism became the national creed. It filtered through the entire educational system of modern states. . . . Hymns of hate are the inevitable outcome of national patriotism based upon national histories. Family blood-feuds, the vendettas of the Corsicans and the Kentucky mountaineers, are considered proofs of a backward civilization, but national hatreds are encouraged as manifestations of national patriotism. . . . The historian is influenced by the prevailing spirit of his age, and he feeds the spirit of national intolerance today as his predecessors fed the flames of religious intolerance in days gone by. Woe unto us! if we cannot see, written in blood, in the dying civilization of Europe, the dreadful result of exaggerated nationalism as set forth in the patriotic histories of some of the most eloquent historians of the nineteenth century.”¹

¹ American Historical Review, Vol. 21 pp. 227, 228, 236.

CHAPTER 3

RELIGION IN THE NEAR EAST

Imperialism and nationalism in the Near East cannot possibly be fully understood apart from a knowledge of the main outlines of the religions of that region. The rigid separation between church and state, concerning which we Americans have such strong convictions, was not to be found in the Near East until very recently, and even now it is far from being the general practice. Throughout the centuries religion and politics have been closely interwoven.

Since Christianity is far older than Islam, we shall begin with a short historic account of the rise and development of the Christian Church in the Near East. The conversion of the Roman Emperor Constantine in 312 marked the beginning of a new epoch for Christianity. Hitherto the Christians had frequently been cruelly persecuted and many thousands had been sent to martyrs' graves. Now Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire, the capital of which had been transferred to Constantinople. The conduct of Constantine following his conversion was such as to cast doubts upon the reality and permanence of his religious experience. The historian Gibbon says he degenerated into "a cruel and dissolute monarch, corrupted by his fortune." In 326, because of jealousy or fear, he condemned his eldest son, Crispus, to death, "either by the hand of the executioner or by the more gentle operation of poison." Shortly thereafter Constantine accused his wife Fausta, to whom he had been married for twenty years, of unfaithfulness and had her "suffocated by the steam of a bath, which, for that purpose, had been heated to an extraordinary degree."¹ Professor Adeney describes the four stages of Constantine's attitude toward the church as "sympathy, justice, patronage, and control."² In a very short time the Church became subservient to the State and remained so for many centuries. "The Eastern Church, from the days of

¹ Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. 2, p. 142.

² Walter F. Adeney, *The Greek and Eastern Churches*, p. 35.

Constantine onwards, lived under the shadow of an imperial palace. That we may take to be an epitome of its history.”¹ This fact is emphasized by another prominent historian, W. M. Ramsay: “The Orthodox Church in the East cast in its lot with the Roman Empire. It did not long attempt to stand on a higher level than the State and the people. It has not been an educating and elevating and purifying power. It has been content, on the whole, in spite of some notable and honourable exceptions, to accept the world as it was, and it has been too easily satisfied with mere allegiance and apparent loyalty to the State among all its adherents. It was the faithful ally of the emperors. . . . We see then, what a power among men the Orthodox Church has been and still is—not a lovable power, not a beneficent power, but stern, unchanging, not exactly hostile to, but certainly careless of, literature and art and civilization, sufficient in itself, self-contained and self-centered.”²

Within a very short time the Church was rent and torn by bitter theological controversies. Concerning the Christians of the fourth and fifth centuries Gibbon says: “The principle of discord was alive in their bosom, and they were more solicitous to explore the nature, than to practice the laws, of their founder.” Their conflicts soon reached a degree of bitterness which seems incredible to modern people. Concerning the Monophysite controversy, Professor Adeney says: “Here was a fine point of theology, so difficult to determine that only an expert could state it correctly, and yet it divided cities into furious factions with howling mobs and fatal riots.”³ In 380, eighty men who had come as a deputation to a council at Constantinople were sent out to sea and there burned to death. At Alexandria the Arians stirred up a mob which invaded the Church of St. Thomas; “a young man in woman’s clothing danced on the altar, another young man sat naked in the bishop’s chair, from which he openly preached immorality to a crowd that roared with laughter at what they took to be a fine joke; virgins of the Church were stripped, scourged, violated. In fact, the recent Bulgarian and Armenian horrors were anticipated by the Alexandrian atrocities committed in the name of Christian theology.”⁴

The Emperor Constantinus issued an edict to the effect that those persons who refused to take communion from the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

² Adeney, p. 104.

³ Luke the Physician, pp. 145, 149.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

hands of Arian bishops should have their mouths "held open by a wooden engine while the consecrated bread was forced down their throat; the breasts of tender virgins were either burnt with red-hot egg-shells, or inhumanly compressed between sharp and heavy boards."¹ In 390 by an edict of Theodosius pagan worship was forbidden and the act of sacrificing animals before an inanimate idol was pronounced high treason and was punishable by death.²

A General Council of the Church was called in 449 to settle the Nestorian controversy. This Council was accompanied by most disgraceful scenes. "If any one ventured to open his mouth in favour of 'two natures,' he was immediately shouted down with cries of 'Nestorian! Tear him asunder!' 'Burn him alive!' 'As he divides, so let him be divided!' 'Drive out, burn, tear, cut asunder, massacre all who hold two natures!'"³ At the instigation of Cyril of Alexandria, an extraordinarily talented young woman, Hypatia, was accused of heresy and "in the holy season of Lent, torn from her chariot, stripped naked, dragged to the church, and inhumanly butchered by the hands of Peter the reader and a troop of savage and merciless fanatics: her flesh was scraped from her bones with sharp oyster-shells, and her quivering limbs were delivered to the flames."⁴ In 449 the Patriarch of Alexandria, so sorely "reviled, and buffeted, and kicked, and trampled" his brother Patriarch of Constantinople that the latter died of his wounds.⁵ In 530 as a result of theological controversies, "respectable citizens, noble matrons, and consecrated virgins were stripped naked and raised in the air by pulleys, with a weight suspended at their feet. In this painful attitude their naked bodies were torn with scourges, or burnt with red-hot plates of iron. The amputation of the ears, the nose, the tongue, and the right hand was afflicted by the Arians."⁶ The historian Ammianus was of the opinion that "the enmity of the Christians towards each other surpassed the fury of savage beasts against man."⁷

The Church, which had started as a simple brotherhood of believers, gradually took shape as a formal organization, and by the fourth century had developed an elaborate hierarchy. The worship of images and relics was firmly established by the end of the sixth century. This tendency

¹ Gibbon, Vol. 2, p. 315.

² *Ibid.*, Vol., 3, p. 135.

³ Adeney, p. 98.

⁴ Gibbon, Vol. 5, p. 15.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 27.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 31.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 319.

was accompanied by an increasing elaboration of rites and ceremonies.

Moreover, by this time the volume of immorality was so great that Chrysostom publicly condemned from the pulpit "the domestic females of the Clergy of Constantinople, who, under the name of servants or sisters, afforded a perpetual occasion either of sin or of scandal."¹ In speaking of the Patriarch of Alexandria in 451, Gibbon says that witnesses proved that "the alms of the Church were lavished on the female dancers, that his palace and even his bath was open to the prostitutes of Alexandria, and that the famous Pansophia, or Irene, was publicly entertained as the concubine of the patriarch."²

In the fourth century the monastic movement, as a means of escape from worldly corruption, arose in the East, a century earlier than in the West. It soon took a very extreme form. Large numbers of men and women fled from the cities, living in solitude in huts, in caves or in the desert; castigating themselves with an amazing extravagance of self-torture. Hilarion of Syria lived for forty-eight years on a dreary sand beach near Gaza.³ Simon the Stylite lived for a summer buried up to his neck in a garden; then in a dark cave with a spiked girdle round his waist; then he built a pillar forty cubits above the earth and upon a railed platform he lived for thirty years!⁴ "Macarius punished himself for killing a gnat in a moment of irritation by retiring to the Scetic marshes, and there spending six months in a state of nudity among the insects, till on his return he was only recognized by his voice, his skin being like an elephant's hide."⁵ Pior, an Egyptian monk, allowed his sister to see him, but he kept his eyes closed throughout the visit.⁶ This combination of corruption and extreme asceticism destroyed the vitality of the Church, although in every age there were notable examples of great piety, sacrificial devotion, and profound learning within her ranks.

THE RISE OF ISLAM

At the hour when the Eastern Church had degenerated into a rigid ecclesiasticism with an elaborate ritual, devoted to the cause of Empire, and when multitudes of Christians were seeking redemption and salvation by penance and self-

¹ Gibbon, Vol. 3, p. 304.

⁴ Adeney, p. 155.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 30.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 5.

⁶ Gibbon, Vol. 4, p. 15.

mutilation in solitary places, there was born in the city of Mecca in Arabia a child who was destined to change the whole history of the Near East.

Mohammed was born in 570. He was a child of poverty, although it seems that his grandfather was a man of some means. At the age of twenty-five, he married a rich widow, who proved to be a devoted wife and wise counselor. When he was forty he had a remarkable religious experience which utterly changed his whole life. He soon gathered a few followers about him and in 622 was compelled to flee from Mecca. He gained recruits in Medina and was able to repulse his former townsmen. After a controversy with a Jewish colony near at hand he fell upon them, slaying nine hundred men and enslaving the women and children. "Thereafter," says H. G. Wells, "his power extended, there were battles, treacheries, massacres; but on the whole he prevailed, until he was master of all Arabia; and when he was master of all Arabia in 632, at the age of sixty-two, he died."¹ During his lifetime he fought in person in nine battles or sieges and fifty enterprises of war were achieved in ten years by himself and his lieutenants.²

Mohammed had most of the virtues and defects of the people of his day. He was a man of great imaginative power, with passionate devotion to his religion and with unbounded courage. One of his distinguished followers has recently referred to him as "the grandest of figures upon whom the light of history has ever shone."³ On the other hand, as Mr. Wells points out, "he was diplomatic, treacherous, ruthless, or compromising as the occasion required and as any other Arab king might have been in his place; and there was singularly little spirituality in his kingship."⁴ After the death of his first wife when he was fifty he married several other wives and kept a number of concubines. He married Ayesha when she was only nine years of age. At the end of a battle with some Jews he looked over the captive women and selected one Safiyya, whose husband having been captured was then executed. "Because he, too, founded a great religion, there are those who write of this evidently lustful and rather shifty leader as though he were a man to put beside Jesus of Nazareth or Gautama or Mani. But it is surely manifest that he was a being of a

¹ The Outline of History, p. 324 (English one-volume edition).

² Gibbon, Vol. 5, p. 257. ³ Justice Ameer Ali, The Spirit of Islam, p. 51.

⁴ Outline of History, p. 324.

commoner clay; he was vain, egotistical, tyrannous, and a self-deceiver.”¹

What was the nature of the religion which he founded? “There is but one God and Mohammed is his Prophet” is the heart of Islam. All power is in the hands of Allah and the life and future of every man is preordained. A distinguished Mohammedan scholar writes in this connection: “The Koran proclaims and repeatedly proclaims that the Future is fixed and determinate, settled and inevitable; that, in fact, the future is duly mapped out and permanently engraved on certain tablets in heaven called ‘Preserved Tables.’”² Mohammed believed in the resurrection and final judgment. Heaven is pictured in most vivid imagery. “Feasting in the most gorgeous and delicious variety, the most costly and brilliant garments, odors, and music of the most ravishing nature, and above all, the enjoyment of the black-eyed daughters of Paradise, are held out as a reward to the commonest inhabitant of Paradise, who will always remain in the full vigor of youth and manhood.”³

Islam demands five chief duties: confession, prayer, almsgiving, fasting and pilgrimage. Five times each day the devout Mohammedan must turn toward Mecca and prostrate himself in prayer. The giving of alms is a legal duty. During the month of Ramadan he is commanded to abstain from food and other indulgences during the day, although at night he may go to any excess. Once at least in a lifetime he must make the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Islam has a number of prohibitory laws. The drinking of wine is rigorously forbidden, as are also all games of chance. Usury is strictly forbidden. The revulsion against idolatry was so strong that stringent laws were passed relating to images and pictures.

One of the most important phases of Islam is its attitude toward women. Islam is distinctly a man's religion. The Koran sanctions the taking of four wives and allows cohabitation with any number of concubines. Moreover, divorce is exceedingly easy. Any man who merely dislikes his wife may divorce her by simply saying, “Thou art divorced,” or “I divorce thee.” The significance and menace of this provision has been emphasized by a leading Mohammedan writer in these words: “The sexual freedom, conceded

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 324.

² A. S. N. Wadia, *The Message of Mohammed*, p. 49.

³ *The New International Encyclopædia*, Vol. 16, p. 80.

and legalized by it, is indeed such as to make Islam in all truth 'the Easy Way.'"¹

Apostasy from Islam and the embracing of another religion is supposed to be punished by the death of the offender. The Koran enjoins believers to make war against infidels. And yet the Koran is not consistent on this point, for elsewhere it says: "Defend yourself against your enemies; but attack them not first; God hateth the aggressor."² In another place it is recorded: "What, wilt thou force men to believe when belief can come only from Allah. Let there be, therefore, no compulsion in religion."³ And again: "O people of the book! Be not ye troubled for the Unbelievers: verily, they who believe, and the Jews, and the Sabeites, and the Christians—whosoever of them believeth in God, and in the Last Day, and doth what is right, on them shall come no fear, neither shall they be put to grief."⁴ And still further: "Be not grieved about the infidels, nor be troubled at their devices: but follow thou the Way of thy Lord with wisdom and with kindly warning, and dispute with the infidels in the kindest manner."⁵

That Islam represented a marked advance over the idolatry of Arabia in the days of Mohammed is recognized by all authorities. The Arabs of that day were a hard, tough race of men who knew little mercy and little compassion. Blood-feuds were common and were handed down from generation to generation. In the temple in Mecca there were 360 idols. Caravans carried on a regular trade in wines, strong drink and slave-girls. Gambling was a serious vice.

Islam has done much to decrease idolatry and superstition; it has removed some of the worst abuses of polygamy; it has done much to remove racial and class barriers between its followers; every Moslem is a brother of every other Moslem; it has tended to increase moderation and kindness in the treatment of slaves and dumb animals; during long periods of its history it has shown greater tolerance toward other religions than it has received from Christians or than that manifested to each other by the various factions of Christendom. "In the general estimate of Mohammedanism it should not be forgotten what Islam has done for the cause of humanity and more particularly the share it had in the development of science and art in Europe. Broadly speaking, the Mohammedans may be said to have been the

¹ A. S. N. Wadia, *The Message of Mohammed*, p. 121.

² Sura II. 190.

³ Sura XI. 257.

⁴ Sura V. 72, 73.

⁵ Sura XVI. 126-128.

teachers of barbarous Europe from the ninth to the thirteenth century.”¹ Mr. Wells is of the opinion that Islam “created a society more free from widespread cruelty and social oppression than any society had ever been in the world before.”²

The West is much better acquainted with the faults and crimes of Mohammedans than with their virtues. When compared with a corrupted form of Christianity, Islam at its best has much to commend it. But when it is compared with the religion of Jesus, its shortcomings are conspicuous and notorious. While Allah is the only God, he is not the righteous, loving, personal Father revealed by Jesus; the founder of Islam had such gross lapses in moral character that he cannot safely be taken as an ideal and example; the Koran, which is a rigid and unchanging law for Mohammedans, legalizes slavery and polygamy, and therefore degrades womanhood and childhood; it appeals to the sensual by its sanctions and by its conceptions of heaven; it sanctions the use of violence in a “holy war” against non-Moslems; its fatalistic elements tend to make its followers irresponsible and thereby helps to wreck moral character.

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY

After the death of Mohammed the armies of Islam achieved many notable and spectacular victories. Within eleven years they were masters of Persia, Syria and Egypt. Within thirty years of the founder's death they had reached the Atlantic. The Straits of Gibraltar were then crossed and Spain was entered. Exactly one hundred years after the Prophet's death the victory of Charles Martel at Tours saved France and Europe from being overrun with Moslems. Spain remained in their possession for many centuries. As late as 1311 there were 200,000 Mohammedans in Granada alone, only 500 of whom were of Arab descent. Rome was partially sacked in 846 and Southern Italy was occupied until the eleventh century. They also advanced eastward through Turkestan and in 755 reached China proper. Cyprus was captured in 648 and Rhodes in 653. Moslem armies swept over Asia Minor, and Constantinople was twice besieged, in 668 and 716. In the eleventh and

¹ New International Encyclopædia, Vol. 16, p. 83.

² Outline of History, p. 325.

thirteenth centuries the Turks from Central Asia became the fighting hosts of Islam. The movement spread northward through Russia and Siberia, westward through Asia Minor to Constantinople and the Danube, eastward to India and the East Indies. Constantinople fell in 1453 and the Turkish armies rolled over Southeastern Europe. In 1529 and in 1683 they were at the gates of Vienna.

THE CRUSADES

During all these years Moslems and Christians were engaged in intermittent or constant warfare. The most notable series of encounters centered around the recovery of the Holy Land. The seven principal Crusades lasted for nearly two hundred years, beginning in 1096. In exhorting his followers to take up the sword against the Moslems, Pope Urban II, at the Council of Claremont, in November, 1095, said: "If you must have blood, bathe your hands in the blood of the infidels. I speak to you with harshness, because my ministry obliges me to do so: Soldiers of hell, become soldiers of the living God."¹

During the siege of Antioch in 1098 the Crusades were subjected to manifold dangers from Saracens and from nature. Large numbers starved to death. Many more succumbed to moral temptations and incredible licentiousness prevailed. "Seldom," says Gibbon, "does the history of profane war display such scenes of intemperance and prostitution as were exhibited under the walls of Antioch. . . . An archdeacon of royal birth was slain by the Turks as he reposed in an orchard, playing at dice with a Syrian concubine."²

When he was troubled with Syrian spies, Bohemond, one of the Crusaders' leaders, "commanded that several Turks, whom he held in close confinement, should be executed, and then ordering a great fire to be lighted, he had them spitted and roasted, as flesh prepared for the supper of himself and his troops, and warned other spies they should receive the same treatment."³

On July 15, 1099, the Crusaders gained temporary control of Jerusalem. They then engaged in one of the most atrocious massacres of history. "Neither age nor sex could mollify their implacable rage: they indulged themselves three days in a promiscuous massacre; and the infection of the

¹ J. F. Michaud, *History of the Crusades*, Vol. I, p. 51.

² Gibbon, Vol. 6, p. 75.

³ J. F. Michaud, *History of the Crusades*, Vol. 1, p. 137.

dead bodies produced an epidemic disease. Seventy thousand Moslems were put to the sword.”¹ One of the leaders of the Crusade boasted that “in Solomon’s Porch and in his temple our men rode in the blood of the Saracens up to the knees of their horses.”² After the terrible slaughter, “at night-fall, sobbing for excess of joy, the Crusaders came at last to the Church of the Sepulchre, and here put their blood-stained hands together in prayer. So, on that day of July, the First Crusade came to an end.”³

As a result of the Great Schism in 1054, the Greek Church and the Roman Church were exceedingly hostile toward each other. This hostility was revealed again and again during the crusades. Upon the elevation of Andronicus in Constantinople, “the Latins were slaughtered in their houses and in the streets; their quarter was reduced to ashes; the Clergy were burnt in their churches, and the sick in their hospitals; and some estimate may be formed of the slain from the clemency which sold above four thousand Christians in perpetual slavery to the Turks. The priests and monks were the loudest and most active in the destruction of the schismatics; and they chanted a thanksgiving to the Lord when the head of a Roman Cardinal, the pope’s legate, was severed from his body, fastened to the tail of a dog, and dragged, with savage mockery, through the city.”⁴

In 1204 the tables were turned and the Greeks were the victims. The Fourth Crusade was diverted from the attack upon the Saracens and turned against Christian Constantinople. The city was captured, looted and burned. “The churches were profaned by the licentiousness and party zeal of the Latins. Their tables, on which they gamed and feasted, were covered with the pictures of Christ and the saints; and they trampled under foot the most venerable objects of Christian worship. A prostitute was seated on the throne of the patriarch; and that daughter of Belial, as she is styled, sung and danced in the Church to ridicule the hymns and processions of the Orientals.”⁵

THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN MODERN TIMES

It should not be forgotten that since the capture of Constantinople in 1453, the Orthodox Church in the Near East

¹ Gibbon, Vol. 6, p. 84.

⁴ Gibbon, Vol. 6, pp. 140, 141.

² New International Encyclopædia, Vol. 6, p. 315.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 174.

³ Ernest Barker, *The Crusades*, p. 23.

has been under the domination of Turkish masters. Very shortly after their conquest, the Turks organized their subject-peoples into religious communities or "nations." By "nation" the Turks meant religion. Every non-Moslem was assigned to one of these communities. The main groups were: The Greek Orthodox Church, the Armenian Church, the Jewish Church, and the Latin Catholic Church. The Patriarchs were appointed by the Sultan and were given civil, as well as ecclesiastical, functions over their people. But the Patriarchs were always subservient to the Sultan. The head of the Church had full authority over all the churches in matters of faith, discipline, rites, marriage laws, etc. He levied taxes upon his people for ecclesiastical purpose and kept a small police force. Each Patriarch had to make the Sultan an enormous present in return for his appointment. In order to do this he was compelled to sell benefices to bishops and priests, "so the taint of Simony, the buying and selling of the things of God, has been for centuries one of the characteristic marks of the Orthodox Church." The Patriarchs soon came to be exceedingly wealthy, but they rarely held office for very long. The Sultans found it profitable to change them frequently. In the seventy-five years from 1625 to 1700 there were fifty Greek Patriarchs of Constantinople. At one time there were fourteen Patriarchs in fifteen years. Some of them were of notoriously degraded character, one at least having been a confirmed drunkard, without knowledge of Greek. Unfortunately, little can be said to the credit of the highest officials of the Church during these desolate ages. For several centuries the Church was dragged through the slime of degradation. In 1873 three hundred Greek monks, "armed as brigands, invaded the Holy Grotto in Bethlehem, wounded the Franciscan monks who were praying there, sacked and pillaged the sanctuary." In 1901 the Turkish police in Jerusalem were compelled to stop a pitched battle which was being fought between Greek and Franciscan monks on the very threshold of the Holy Sepulchre.¹

The historic relationship between the Sultan and the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople, which had existed since 1453, was broken off by the Patriarch on March 9, 1919, at the time when it looked as if the Turks were permanently defeated. After the victories of Mustapha Kemal the whole situation changed. Strenuous efforts were required on the

¹ Pierre Loti, *Turkey in Agony*, p. 81.

part of the Allied statesmen at Lausanne to induce the Turks to allow the Greek Patriarch to remain in Constantinople. As it is, he has been stripped of all administrative and civil powers and now has only ecclesiastical functions. Moreover, the compulsory exchange of populations has removed practically all Greeks from Turkey, except those in Constantinople.

During all the years of captivity, the patriarchs, bishops and priests have frequently been leaders in the various political rebellions against the Turks. Large numbers of them have met the usual fate of rebels.

In 1914 a special commission of the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace said concerning the Eastern Church: "The Church does not systematically teach either morals or religion; its bishops and priests are the employes of the State and they are the propagandists of nationality. Conversion with them means a change from one nationality to another, whether accomplished by persuasion or force. Religious conviction or faith have nothing to do with it."¹

The Greek Orthodox Church has not only been a leader in the political struggle for freedom, it has been divided by serious quarrels and factions from within. Prior to the World War there were sixteen independent bodies in communion with the Patriarch of Constantinople, although he had no jurisdiction except in his own Patriarchate. "It is with no malicious pleasure," wrote Dr. Fortescue, in 1907, "that one has to record the fact that, in spite of their intercommunion, the dominant note of these sixteen bodies in our time is their extreme quarrelsomeness. The thing is too patent to be ignored. It is the cause of nearly all their activity. . . . The first element of Balkan discontent is the mutual hatred of Greek and Slav. It is now far more active than their old enmity against the Turk. Indeed, both sides are always appealing to the Turks against each other. A further complication is that Bulgars, Serbs and Roumans hate each other only less than they all hate Greeks."²

The Orthodox Church in the Balkan countries that have achieved their independence is at last free from the tyrannous Turk. The Church in various sections has undoubtedly made progress, but it will be a long time before it outgrows the effects of the centuries of oppression under the Turks and corruption prior to their coming. In many places it is

¹ Report of the International Commission to Inquire Into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars, pp. 271, 272.

² Adrian Fortescue, *The Orthodox Eastern Church*, pp. 273, 275.

a dry and lifeless formal organization, with little spiritual vitality and exercised pathetically little moral influence in the life of the nation. A considerable proportion of its priests are uneducated and poorly equipped for leadership. Here and there there are to be found individuals, like the Bishop Nicholai of Serbia, who are great spiritual leaders with very wide influence. As yet the number of such leaders is exceedingly limited.

THE ARMENIAN CHURCH

Prior to the World War, the Armenian Church ranked next in size to the Eastern Orthodox Church. It is a very ancient church. In fact, Armenia was the first nation officially to adopt Christianity. In 491 the Armenian Church, due to its rejection of the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, separated from the Orthodox Church and has remained separate until the present time. Its adherents have probably suffered more intense and persistent persecution than those of any other branch of the Christian Church. It has a glorious line of saints and martyrs. Throughout their history the Armenians have been persecuted in turn by the Orthodox Church, the Mongols, the Persians, the Russians and the Moslems. For centuries they have been scattered throughout many countries. But wherever they have gone, they have maintained their religion and language in a wonderful way. They are not a warlike people. They were never an artistic people, nor have they ever produced anything original in literature. They are bankers, and merchants. In spite of massacres and persecutions, they have an extraordinary way of maintaining prosperity. Partly because of this fact, they have never been a popular race, in spite of sympathy shown by other peoples because of their continued persecution. "Certainly the hatred of them and the readiness Kurds and Turks show to massacre them comes from economic rather than religious reasons."¹ The worst Armenian massacres did not begin until the latter half of the nineteenth century and were primarily political in their origin. The leaders of the Armenian Church, like the Patriarchs and Bishops of the Orthodox Church, had civil as well as ecclesiastical functions, and were in the forefront of the movement for deliverance from the Turks. During the Russian War of 1829 there was a marked independence movement among the Armenians. Secret

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 392.

societies were formed and plots entered into. These secret societies were active at various periods throughout the century. There can be no doubt that the Armenians have themselves at times been guilty of excesses and atrocities, especially in connection with the advance of the Russian army. In 1920 Lord Curzon said in the House of Lords: "It must be owned that the Armenians during the last weeks did not behave like innocent little lambs, as some people imagine. The fact is they have indulged in a series of wild attacks, and proved blood-thirsty people." But the plots and excesses of the Armenians were preceded and followed by massacres and yet more massacres on the part of the Turks, until only a small fraction of the Armenian people are still alive.

AMERICAN PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN TURKEY

American Protestant missionary work in the Near East is only a hundred years old. The early missionaries came to the Near East with the definite expectation of working with Moslems and Jews. Three factors caused them to shift their emphasis and to devote themselves chiefly to work among native Christians. First, it was discovered to be impossible to work successfully for the definite conversion of Moslems. Intolerance and bigotry were so acute that no Moslem in Turkey could become a Christian and live. Second, very early it was apparent that until the religion in the Near East which was known as Christianity was purified and reformed it would continue to be an almost insuperable obstacle to the progress of the real religion of Jesus. Third, efforts to arouse the native Christians were relatively fruitful. And so during the history of Protestant missions in Turkey, comparatively little evangelistic work among Moslems has been attempted and almost no Moslems have been converted to Christianity.¹ The missionaries have, however, been very successful in their efforts with Greek and Armenian Christians. At various times they have met with serious opposition from the officials of the native churches. In 1846 the Armenian patriarch excommunicated all who were actively supporting the Protestant movement. In 1850 the Turkish Government recognized the Protestant Armenian Church. This recognition was essential since without it the participants would have lost their civil

¹ It should be pointed out that there have been many conversions among Moslems in India and elsewhere, but not in Turkey.

rights. The establishment of a separate Protestant Armenian Church was a great disappointment to the missionaries, as they regarded it as much more effective to work from within the ancient Church.

Perhaps the most notable work accomplished by the American missionaries has been that achieved through their colleges, notably Robert College, Constantinople College for Women, and the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut. Cyrus Hamlin opened a school in Constantinople in 1840, which developed into Robert College. At the beginning practically all students were Armenians. After many years of difficulties, the present magnificent site overlooking the Bosphorus was secured and a number of handsome buildings erected. Through the years this college has been turning out graduates who have become leaders in many countries. During the second year of the World War there were students of seventeen different races, the larger groups being Greeks, Armenians and Turks. At that time there were only 34 Protestants and 79 Moslems, most of the students being members of the Orthodox and the Gregorian Churches. The Bulgarian students who have returned to their native land have rendered conspicuous service in all phases of national life. In 1913 there were in Turkey "nine colleges with about 2,400 students, about 50 boarding and high schools with 4,500 students, and 400 common schools with 20,000 students."¹

The very fact that the work of the missionaries has been so largely with non-Moslems has placed them in a most delicate and difficult position during all the years of rebellion and war. They have often been accused of aiding the revolutionaries. The facts do not substantiate this charge. There can be no doubt that education itself is a primary cause of discontent with tyranny and corruption. But the American missionaries have carefully avoided political activities. "Not only did they keep entirely aloof from politics, but they also avoided all contact with political agents. Political propaganda was strictly forbidden in the American institutions, and these institutions were bitterly criticized and even assailed by the various revolutionary leaders for this so-called pro-Turk attitude."²

The work of the missionaries has been dealt a very severe

¹ Albert Howe Lyber, *Current History Magazine*, February 1924, p. 807.

² George R. Montgomery, *Current History Magazine*, Vol. 17, p. 303.

blow by the World War and the turmoil which has prevailed since the Armistice. Due to repeated massacres, deportations and the compulsory exchange of populations, their constituency has been reduced enormously. There are now very few Greeks and Armenians in Turkey, except those remaining in Constantinople. Moreover, the missionaries are very severely handicapped in their activities by the attitude of the Nationalist Government, by frequent interferences from petty officials and by the general uncertainty which prevails. The abolition of the Capitulations makes them subject to Turkish courts, in which it is not always possible to secure justice. Religion cannot now be taught in schools and colleges, although religious services are permitted in churches and chapels set apart for worship. The number of educational institutions has decreased considerably, and the enrollment of students is much lower than formerly. Medical missionary work has been severely hit by the regulation that no new permits to practice medicine in Turkey will be granted to foreigners. This means that "only six American missionary physicians may now work in Turkey."¹

The new medical building of the Women's College, with its splendid equipment, is at present being used for other purposes. The morale of the missionaries, however, still remains high. With great courage and devotion they are continuing their work, in spite of gigantic obstacles, and are adjusting themselves to the new conditions which prevail.

SUMMARY

We have seen how the Christian Church, after it became the official religion of the Roman Empire, degenerated into a formal ecclesiasticism, with a corrupt hierarchy, and that this in turn gave rise to extreme asceticism. Thus Mohammed never came into contact with true followers of Jesus. From the very beginning Islam and Christianity have waged almost continuous warfare. Since the capture of Constantinople nearly four centuries ago, the Eastern Church has been subject to the Turks and, being assigned various civic functions, has naturally assumed leadership in the movement for freedom in various parts of the Turkish Empire. It has therefore been inextricably bound up with the political struggles between the European powers and Turkey. Throughout the

¹ Albert Howe Lyber, *Current History Magazine*, February, 1924, p. 809.

last century, religion has played an exceedingly important role in the nationalism and imperialism of the Near East. Having traced the main outlines of European imperialism in the Near East and of Balkan and Turkish nationalism, we shall now proceed to examine the American aspects of these problems.

CHAPTER 4

THE TERRITORIAL AND ECONOMIC EXPANSION OF THE UNITED STATES

By the terms of the treaty of peace in 1783, the thirteen colonies acquired all the territory south of the Canadian border and north of Florida as far west as the Mississippi River. In this treaty there was a secret clause which was not printed in the text and which was not revealed to the French minister. This secret clause related to the boundaries of Florida, which at that time belonged to England, and provided one boundary line in case England retained it and a different one if she sold it to Spain. When Spain acquired Florida she found out about the secret clause and insisted upon the more inclusive boundaries, but "under a virtual threat of war" finally yielded. Thus America "scored its first considerable victory when our constitution was six years old."¹

In 1803 President Jefferson sent a commission to purchase New Orleans and certain territory along the Mississippi from the French, who had acquired it from Spain. It was stipulated that the purchase price should not exceed \$2,000,000. At that moment Napoleon was afraid England would seize the territory and offered to sell the whole tract for \$16,000,000. The offer was accepted and thus the territory of the United States was vastly increased in size. From the Louisiana Purchase the following sixteen States have been organized: Arkansas, Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota, and Wyoming. In 1810 an attempt was made to secure part of Florida from Spain. America "negotiated vainly, threatened war, and finally took forcible possession of this Western portion of West Florida. In default of other means, or perhaps in preference to other

¹ H. H. Powers, *America Among the Nations*, p. 44. In commenting upon Germany's defence of the invasion of Belgium on grounds of necessity Theodore Roosevelt said: "England's conduct toward Denmark in the Napoleonic wars, and the conduct of both England and France toward us during those same wars, admit only this species of justification; and with less excuse the same is true of our conduct toward Spain in Florida nearly a century ago." *The Outlook*, Sept. 23, 1914, p. 171.

means, the balance of West Florida was seized in 1813.”¹ Spain and Britain both protested but to no avail. In their efforts to secure East Florida, Jefferson and his associates “finally finding that Spain could not or would not maintain order, virtually took possession of the territory and then forced Spain to cede Florida for \$5,000,000, all of which was to be paid to American citizens in satisfaction of claims against Spain.”²

In the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century there was serious trouble between the State of Maine and New Brunswick over boundaries, a tract of about 12,000 square miles being involved. The King of Netherlands was chosen as arbiter. The United States Government refused to accept his award and “began preparations for war.” In the State of Maine “troops were raised and money voted.” Fortunately, cooler heads prevailed and war was averted and a settlement was reached along lines of the original award.

Oregon had been secured from Spain in 1792. At the time of the Lewis and Clark expedition to the Pacific, a serious controversy was being waged between Russia and England over the territory in the North Pacific. Russia had a garrison only a few miles north of San Francisco. The United States and Britain combined against Russia and forced her to accept “fifty-four forty” as her southern boundary. Then began a long and exceedingly bitter controversy between the United States and Britain. At one time America was willing to accept a boundary line at forty-nine but Britain would not agree. America countered by saying that Britain had no right on the Pacific Coast and insisted upon taking all the territory up to the Russian boundary. For more than thirty years the controversy continued. In 1844 Polk was elected President on a platform of “fifty-four forty or fight.” After his election internal affairs—the slavery controversy and approaching trouble with Mexico—made it advisable to effect a settlement and so in 1846 the boundary was fixed at forty-nine.

In 1836 Texas secured her independence from Mexico and in 1845 she was admitted to the Union. In 1846 war

¹ H. H. Powers, *America Among the Nations*, p. 44. In commenting upon Germany's defence of the invasion of Belgium on grounds of necessity Theodore Roosevelt said: “England's conduct toward Denmark in the Napoleonic wars, and the conduct of both England and France toward us during those same wars, admit only this species of justification; and with less excuse the same is true of our conduct toward Spain in Florida nearly a century ago.” *The Outlook*, Sept. 23, 1914, p. 171.

² *Ibid.*, p. 49.

broke out between Mexico and the United States. A furious controversy has raged over the question of the causes of this war. One side believes that the struggle was caused by the refusal of Mexico to recognize the independence of Texas or to consent to the annexation of Texas to the Union.¹ The other side believes that the United States was the aggressor, being desirous of gaining additional territory. The South was undoubtedly eager to secure further slave-territory. President Polk has been bitterly criticized for failing to secure approval from Congress before sending General Taylor into disputed territory just across the Rio Grande from Matamoros, and thus precipitating the war.

As the loser in the war, Mexico was compelled to cede to the United States all the territory north of the Rio Grande and Gila Rivers, including what is now part of Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho, Utah, Nevada and California. In this case, as in previous cases, the United States paid for the land which she had seized by force, and Mexico received \$15,000,000 besides \$3,000,000 to cover private claims.

There has been a vast amount of criticism of the United States for the part she played prior to, during and after the war. On June 25, 1848, Theodore Parker, the famous preacher, in the course of a sermon, said: "The war was unjust at its beginning; mean in its motives, a war without honorable cause; a war for plunder. . . . All the justice was on one side—the force, skill, and wealth on the other."² Abraham Lincoln was among those who vigorously opposed the war with Mexico. Speaking in the House to resolutions he had introduced calling upon the President for information concerning the spot where the war began, he said: "If he cannot or will not do this,—if on any pretense or no pretense he shall refuse or omit it—then I shall be fully convinced of what I more than suspect already—that he is deeply conscious of being in the wrong; that he feels the blood of this war, like the blood of Abel, is crying to Heaven against him. . . . How like the half-insane mumblings of a fever dream is the whole war part of his last message!"³ In the debate at Ottawa, Illinois, on August 21, 1858, Stephen A. Douglas said of Lincoln: "Whilst in Congress he distinguished himself by his opposition to the Mexican war, taking the side of the common enemy against his own country."³

¹ This point of view has been set forth at length in Justin H. Smith, *The War With Mexico*, and Chas. H. Owen, *The Justice of the Mexican War*.

² A Sermon of the Mexican War, pp. 36, 37.

³ Quoted in Harper's Weekly, February 12, 1916, pp. 149, 150.

General Grant was likewise opposed to the Mexican War. "For myself," he said, "I was bitterly opposed to the measure, and to this day regard the war which resulted as one of the most unjust ever waged by a stronger against a weaker nation. It was an instance of a republic following the bad example of European monarchies, in not considering justice in their desire to acquire additional territory."¹ In his *History of the American People*, Woodrow Wilson refers to our "inexcusable aggression" in the Mexican War.² Cyrus Townsend Brady says the Mexican War was "the spoilation of a weaker power by a stronger, and is the one serious blot upon our national history. The conduct of the United States was wholly indefensible in a large part of the operations."³

During the fourth decade of the last century, the non-Indian settlers in Yucatan, a province of Mexico, offered the "dominion and sovereignty" of that country to the United States. The offer was not accepted, but the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate offered a bill authorizing the President to take temporary military occupation of Yucatan.

In 1867 Alaska was purchased from Russia for the sum of \$7,200,000. Secretary Seward also made an effort to purchase the Danish West Indies. The Senate, however, rejected the recommendation of the President. In 1870 Sweden offered to sell us the island of St. Bartholomew, but the offer was not accepted. During President Grant's administration an effort was made to admit Santo Domingo as a state, but this proposal failed to receive the assent of Congress. At that time sentiment was strongly opposed to the idea of protectorates.

HAWAII

Hawaii was the first territory outside the American continent to be annexed by the United States. The record of our contacts with the Hawaiians is interesting and significant. In 1853 the Hawaiian Government asked to be annexed, but the request was not granted. Fifteen years later Secretary Seward urged annexation but was not successful. In 1871 the United States Minister to Hawaii again recommended annexation. Ten years later Blaine "advised the American minister to Hawaii to study closely the agricultural and commercial advantages of the island, with a view to deter-

¹ Louis A. Coolidge, *Ulysses S. Grant*, p. 27.

² *History of the American People*, Woodrow Wilson, Vol. 4, p. 122.

³ *The Conquest of the Southwest*, p. 4.

mining their value as a future territorial acquisition of the United States." During this period Britain and France were gobbling up numerous islands of the Pacific. American influence in the islands was strong, due to the influence of our missionaries and traders. In 1875 a treaty was arranged whereby the lower grades of Hawaiian sugar were admitted to the United States free of duty. In 1884 the United States was granted temporary concessions for a naval station at Pearl River.

In 1893 a political revolution took place by which Queen Liliyokalani was deposed and a provisional government was established. There is no doubt whatever that this revolution was engineered by American citizens who regarded the Queen a hostile to American interests. Indeed, the American Minister, John S. Stevens, was directly involved. For many months prior to the revolution Stevens had been advocating annexation of the country to which he was our official representative.¹ He was constantly in touch with the revolutionists and they depended upon him for advice. Concerning the course of the revolution, Woodrow Wilson says: "Marines and pieces of artillery were ordered on shore from a United States man-of-war lying in the harbor; under their protection a revolutionary provisional government was set up which thrust the queen aside."² Admiral Skerrett later said in this connection: "The American troops were well located if designed to promote the movement for the Provisional Government, and very improperly located if only intended to protect American citizens in person and property."³ On February 1st, Stevens, without waiting for authorization from Congress, proclaimed a protectorate over Hawaii. President Harrison had a treaty of annexation submitted to the Senate only two weeks before his term of office expired. President Cleveland, however, was vigorously opposed to expansion of our territory and withdrew the treaty. His biographer tells us that "in his study of the documents, Mr. Cleveland soon became convinced that Stevens had deliberately furthered the revolution in order the sooner to make Hawaii American territory."⁴ He sent a special Commissioner, Mr. James H. Blount, to investigate conditions on the spot. In his report Blount "represented the revolution to be

¹ For official letters in this connection see R. F. Pettigrew, *The Course of Empire*, Chapter V.

² *History of the American People*, Vol. 5, p. 242.

³ Quoted by Robert McElroy, *Grover Cleveland*, Vol. 2, p. 51.

⁴ Robert McElroy, *Grover Cleveland*, Vol. 2, p. 55.

the result of a conspiracy managed by aliens and chiefly by Americans, and helped on by the United States minister." Concerning this report the New York Herald said editorially, on November 23, 1893: "No one unprejudiced can read Mr. Blount's report without the conviction that it goes into the archives of the State Department at Washington as the darkest chapter in the diplomatic annals of this country." In his Presidential Message on December 18, 1893, Grover Cleveland said: "The lawful government of Hawaii was overthrown without the drawing of a sword or the firing of a shot, by a process every step of which is directly traceable to and dependent for its safety upon the agency of the United States, acting through its diplomatic and naval representatives." The President sent his regret to the Queen for the "reprehensible conduct of the American minister." On February 7, 1894, the House passed resolutions 177 to 78, "condemning Mr. Stevens for illegally aiding in overthrowing the constitutional government of the Hawaiian islands." On May 31st the Senate by a unanimous vote declared that the Hawaiians should maintain their own government.

The Republicans bitterly resented Blount's report and the action of Cleveland, even going so far as to make an effort to impeach Blount. The whole question was a major issue in the next Presidential campaign. McKinley was elected and almost immediately introduced a new treaty of annexation, which failed to receive the necessary two-thirds majority. After the outbreak of the Spanish-American war, another effort was made to pass the treaty but notwithstanding the tremendous excitement incident to the war, the necessary votes were not forthcoming. Then it was decided to accomplish the same result by passing a joint resolution. After bitter opposition, this resolution was passed on July 6, 1898. Thus Hawaii was annexed, despite the protests of Great Britain and Japan. A month after Dewey's victory at Manila Bay, McKinley remarked to Cortelyou: "We need Hawaii just as much and a good deal more than we did California. It is Manifest Destiny."¹

SAMOA

The Samoan Islands are located in the South Pacific. During the decades prior to 1899 there were continual disturbances as a result of the struggles of rival candidates for the

¹ Quoted by Robert McElroy, Grover Cleveland, Vol. 2, p. 72.

throne. Great Britain, Germany and the United States often supported different factions and serious friction was engendered. On March 15, 1899, British and American warships bombarded certain villages which were in possession of the faction supported by Germany. Shortly afterward, an agreement was reached whereby the islands were divided between Germany and the United States, Great Britain consenting because of value received elsewhere. The chief American possessions are Tutuila (54 square miles) and the Manu group (26 square miles). American Samoa has a population of about 10,000 persons and is governed by United States naval officers. Congress has never provided for annexation or administration of the islands. An executive order issued by the President of the United States is the only authority for their administration.¹

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

During the closing decades of last century conditions in Cuba became intolerable. Spanish tyranny became unendurable. Sharp insurrections occurred in 1895. The Spanish Governor, Don Caleriano Weyler, countered with acts of extreme cruelty and ferocity. In his message of December, 1896, President Cleveland gave warning of a possible intervention unless gross abuses were removed and peace restored. On February 15, 1898, the United States battleship Maine, lying in the harbor of Havana upon a visit of courtesy, was sunk with a loss of two officers and 258 men. In 1899 Henry Cabot Lodge wrote: "The outside engine of destruction (of the Maine) was a governmental submarine mine and had been exploded without the authority or knowledge of the Spanish Government by men who wore the uniform of Spain."² In 1908 Professor E. J. Benton wrote: "One thing is clear, there was no real basis in reason or fact for holding official Spain to be the deliberate perpetrator of a crime of such magnitude."³ The effect upon American public opinion was stupendous. Sensational newspapers went to extreme lengths in demanding war with Spain. The yellow press "manipulated the real news, spread unfounded reports, putting all before their reads with scare headlines."⁴ At the beginning McKinley was strongly opposed to war and ex-

¹ See an interesting article on this question by Frank Bohn, *Current History Magazine*, January 1924, p. 651 ff.

² *The War With Spain*, p. 31.

³ *International Law and Diplomacy*, p. 76.

⁴ James Ford Rhodes, *The McKinley and Roosevelt Administration*, p. 55.

erted himself to avert it. He was greatly handicapped by the procrastination of the Spanish Government, although it was willing to go to almost any length to avoid war. Terrific pressure was brought to bear upon McKinley by the war party. At this time the Secretary of War, Russell A. Alger, said to a Senator: "I want you to advise the President to declare war. He is making a great mistake. He is in danger of ruining himself and the Republican party by standing in the way of the people's wishes. Congress will declare war in spite of him. He'll get run over and the party with him."¹ At the very hour when it seemed that Spain would take steps leading to the independence of Cuba, McKinley yielded to public clamor and war was declared.

In an address in New York on March 8, 1904, General Woodford, who was United States Minister to Spain at the time of the negotiations, said: "The Queen Regent of Spain and the President of the United States were each and both sincerely desirous of peace. The Spanish Government steadily, courteously, but surely receded from position to position in the intent of peace until there seemed reasonable hopes of peaceful adjustment. Then came occurrences which human foresight had not foreseen and could not have foreseen. The singular and inexplicable letter from the Spanish Minister at Washington to a correspondent at Havana; the destruction of the steamship *Maine* in the harbor of Havana, and the suggestion by the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs that the request of the Pope for an armistice was at the instance of the American President, . . . I have always believed, and now believe, but that for these things President McKinley would have achieved the desire of his heart, and would have accomplished the ultimate independence of Cuba without war."²

Dr. James Ford Rhodes, an outstanding American historian, says in this connection: "No one can go through carefully the diplomatic message without thinking that up to March 31 McKinley's conduct of the affair had been faultless. . . . After this date McKinley feared a rupture in his own party, and on account of that fear, had not the nerve and power to resist the pressure for war. We may rest assured that if Mark Hanna had been President there would have been no war with Spain."³ In 1910, John W. Foster

¹ Quoted by Rhodes, p. 59.

² Quoted by E. J. Benton, *International Law and Diplomacy of the Spanish-American War*, p. 88.

³ Rhodes, pp. 61, 64.

said: "In the light of Woodford despatches, we must conclude that had President McKinley displayed the same firmness as Grant and Cleveland, and continued to 'keep hold of the reins of diplomacy,' the Spanish War with its long train of consequences might never have come upon us."¹ Woodrow Wilson speaks of the Spanish American War as "a war of impulse."² Professor E. J. Benton says: "Except for an uncontrollable desire for war on the part of the United States, diplomacy might, within all human probability, have accomplished the emancipation of Cuba. . . . In the opinion of nearly all writers on international law, the particular form of intervention in 1898 was unfortunate, irregular, precipitate and unjust to Spain. The same ends—peace in Cuba and justice to all people concerned—in themselves good, could have been achieved by peaceful means safer for the wider interests of humanity."³

The war lasted less than four months. The American military and naval forces were soon masters of Cuba, Porto Rico and the strategic centers of the Philippine Islands. By the treaty of peace, Spain ceded to the United States Porto Rico, Guam and the Philippine Islands, receiving a payment of \$20,000,000 for the latter. Spain also relinquished all sovereignty over Cuba.

CUBA

From the very beginning the United States denied any intention of retaining control over Cuba. On April 19, 1898, Congress passed a resolution which contained these words: "The United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said Island except for pacification thereof and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the Island to its people." In spite of profound cynicism in European countries, this pledge has been kept, except for the important reservations included in the Platt Amendment. For a short time the Government of Cuba was administered by the United States Army. During the occupation a great work of sanitation and elimination of disease was accomplished, especially in the elimination of yellow fever. Substantial progress was also made in the realm of education. A real effort was made to train the

¹ Quoted by Rhodes, p. 64.

² History of the American People, Vol. 5, p. 275.

³ International Law and Diplomacy of the Spanish-American War, pp. 95, 108.

people for self-government. On June 16, 1900, municipal officers were elected throughout the island. A constitutional convention met on November 5 of that year. Elections were held in December, 1901, civil government was duly inaugurated and the United States troops were withdrawn on May 20, 1902.

Prior to withdrawal, future relations between Cuba and the United States were defined in the so-called Platt Amendment, attached as a rider to the Army Appropriation Bill, of March 2, 1901. The provisions of this amendment were appended to the Cuban Constitution. Article III is the most important and has been subjected to severe criticism as a violation of our pledge of complete evacuation. In this article Cuba consents to the intervention of the United States "for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty." Cuba accepted this article under protest. It has frequently been pointed out that since the Platt Amendment gives the United States the right to intervene whenever the lives or property of her citizens are endangered, it is in fact an abridgement of Cuban sovereignty and is, therefore, a repudiation of the solemn pledge which we made. Furthermore, the United States has retained a permanent naval base at Guantanamo.

On several occasions since 1902, the United States has intervened in Cuban affairs. At the request of President Palma in 1905, President Roosevelt appointed the Taft-Bacon Commission to aid in reconciling serious differences between the warring factions in the Island. When President Palma resigned, Mr. Taft was appointed Provisional Governor, and acted in this capacity until 1908. In 1912 Secretary Knox warned the Cuba Government that intervention would be necessary if disorders were allowed to develop in connection with the approaching election. In the summer a revolt broke out and United States marines were landed temporarily. In February 1917 Secretary Lansing made an appeal to the Cuban people to avoid civil war and warned them that the United States would not recognize a government set up by violence. In March marines were again landed and order was soon restored. In 1920 a representative of the United States, General Crowder, helped in revising the electoral laws. He also persuaded both factions to call a second election in certain districts where fraud was evident. Thus far the United States has not abused the right to inter-

vene conferred by the Platt Amendment. The very fact, however, that we forced the acceptance of this amendment is still deeply resented in Cuba and its perpetuation constitutes a potential source of friction.

PORTO RICO

From the time of the withdrawal of Spanish troops in October, 1898, until May 1, 1900, Porto Rico was under the United States military rule. The Foraker Act of 1900 established civil government, the Governor and other members of the Executive Council being appointed by the President of the United States. Legislative power was divided between a House of Delegates, elected by native voters, and the Executive Council. There has been much hostility between these two bodies and prolonged deadlocks have not been infrequent. The Jones Act, which became law on March 2, 1917, granted American citizenship to the Porto Ricans and increased the power of the native branches of government. In spite of this fact and in spite of marked improvements in government, education and trade, the Porto Ricans are not satisfied. A strong independence movement has grown up.¹

THE PHILIPPINES

At the beginning of the Spanish-American War nobody dreamed that the Philippine Islands would come into the possession of the United States. In his message to Congress of December, 1897, President McKinley has said: "Forcible annexation . . . cannot be thought of; that, by our code of morality, would be criminal aggression." But at the end of the war we were in no mood to return them to Spain, to be subjected to further tyranny. Furthermore, we were afraid to grant them immediate independence, for fear they would fall a prey to some imperialistic power. And so an area of 115,026 square miles, embracing a population of ten million people, passed under our control. On the whole our administration has been very creditable. Under our leadership extraordinary strides have been made in the establishment of law and order, education, sanitation, transportation and commerce.

Our policy has always had in mind the ultimate termina-

¹ For a brilliantly written plea for independence by a distinguished Porto Rican, Pedro Capo Rodriguez, see *Mexico and the Caribbean*, edited by George H. Blakeslee, Chapter 23.

tion of American control. Various prominent officials of the American Government have made declarations in which hope was held out of independence in the not distant future. Concerning the Philippines, President Wilson, in October, 1913, said: "Every step we take will be taken with a view to the ultimate independence of the Islands, and as a preparation for that independence." In 1915 Theodore Roosevelt wrote: "The Islands should at an early moment be given their independence without any guarantee whatever by us and without our retaining any foothold in them." In 1916 Congress passed the Jones Act, the preamble of which declared: "It was never the intention of the people of the United States in the incipency of the War with Spain to make it a war of conquest or for territorial aggrandizement" and that "it is, as it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established." In June, 1922, President Harding said: "Whether wisely or not, our disavowal of permanent retention was made in the very beginning, and a reversal of that attitude will come, if ever, only at your request."

In 1919, after six years spent as Governor-General of the Philippines, F. B. Harrison said: "I wish to state upon my responsibility as Governor-General that in my opinion there exists today in the Philippine Islands a stable Government, which I think should answer the requirements laid down." In his message to Congress on December 7, 1920, President Wilson said concerning the establishment of stable government in the Philippines: "I respectfully submit that this condition precedent having been fulfilled, it is now our liberty and our duty to keep our promise to the people of those Islands by granting them the independence which they so honourably covet."

In spite of these repeated statements and in spite of continuous demands from Filipino leaders, independence has not been granted and now seems to be farther removed than it did a decade ago. American business interests in the Islands are exerting very strong influence against the independence movement. The argument is frequently advanced that the Filipinos are not qualified for self-government and that we should retain control in order to keep the Islands from falling into the hands of Japan. In 1921 the Wood-

Forbes Commission appointed by President Harding advised against immediate independence for fear of "leaving the Islands a prey to any powerful nation coveting their rich soil and potential commercial advantages." This change of policy has been very deeply resented by the Filipino leaders and has been severely criticized by outstanding Americans as well. There are those who say that "rich soil and potential commercial advantages" are behind our reluctance to relinquish control. General Wood has recently defined a stable government as "one under which capital seeks investments at normal rates of interest."¹

Numerous articles are now appearing in American periodicals advocating the retention of the Philippines. Some of these speak with great frankness, for example: "There, as with Cuba, there is the commercial factor . . . Standing at the threshold of Asia, should not the Philippines become as valuable a commercial outpost for America as Hong Kong is for Great Britain? May not these considerations prove sufficient to keep the Stars and Stripes floating above the archipelago under conditions whereby the immense resources of the islands, both for their own sake and ours, will be developed in ways to make them of the fullest service to the world that has need of them?"²

Professor Buell has recently written: "In the face of the promises made by the United States to the Philippine people and in the face of the wishes of these people, there is only one important reason why so many Americans are now demanding that we cling to these islands: that is, in order to advance the interests of a limited number of American business men. The American people as a whole have derived no material advantage from our occupation of these islands. The Philippines have not contributed a cent to the treasury of the United States. We have sunk at least \$700,000,000 in military and naval expenditures arising out of the occupation."³

GUAM

Guam is an island in the Pacific, about thirty miles long, six miles broad, and has a population of about ten thousand persons. At the conclusion of the Spanish-American War

¹ Quoted by Raymond Leslie Buell in an excellent article, "What About the Philippines," in the *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1924, p. 400.

² Sylvester Baxter, *Review of Reviews*, August, 1923, p. 176.

³ *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1924, p. 401

it was ceded to the United States. It is valuable chiefly as a naval base and a coaling station.

THE CANAL ZONE

In 1881 a French company started excavations on a proposed canal across the Isthmus of Panama. At the end of eight years, the project having already lost nearly four times as much as estimated and being only one-third completed, the company went into bankruptcy. In 1901 the French holdings were offered to the United States Government for \$109,141,500. When it seemed that the Nicaragua route might be selected this offer was reduced to \$40,000,000. On January 22, 1903, a treaty with the United States was signed by the representative of Colombia—since Panama was a province of Colombia—whereby permission was given the French company to transfer its concessions and properties to the United States, and for a consideration of \$10,000,000 and certain annuities the United States was granted the exclusive right to construct and operate the canal. The transaction was completed, except for the ratification of the treaty by the Colombian senate. When the treaty came up for ratification before that body it was unanimously rejected, for which action various unworthy motives have been ascribed. Feeling in the United States ran high and the refusal to ratify was regarded as an attempted hold-up for more money.

Matters were brought to a crisis by a rebellion in Panama on November 3rd against the authority of Colombia. The part played by American troops in this revolution has been subjected to grave criticism. On the day the revolution started, United States marines were landed from the *Nashville*. When the Colombian Commander, Colonel Torres, attempted to transport Colombian troops to Panama by railway for the purpose of crushing the rebellion, he was prevented from so doing by the American forces, "on the ground that the act would precipitate civil war and disturb the free transit that the United States was pledged to protect." This action enabled the revolutionists to gain complete control in Panama and to form a provincial government. Two days later this government was recognized by the United States—a record for speedy recognition. Fourteen days later a treaty was signed, by the terms of which the

United States promised to maintain the independence of the Republic of Panama. In return for \$10,000,000 and an annual subsidy of \$250,000, the United States was granted the control of a zone of land ten miles wide extending across the isthmus from Colon to Panama.

Concerning this transaction an Atlantic Monthly article says: "This decisive result was, of course, due to coercion by the United States upon Colombia—no less so, though less directly, than if war had been declared upon that state. It is a fact not to be denied or glossed over, but to be openly commended."¹ Professor Clarence H. Haring, of Harvard University, says in this connection: "The intervention of the United States was a clear violation of Colombian sovereignty and roused strong resentment in all parts of Latin America."²

In his Autobiography, Theodore Roosevelt says that if there had been no revolution in Panama he was "prepared to recommend to Congress that we should at once occupy the Isthmus anyhow, and proceed to dig the canal; and I had drawn out a draft of my message to this effect."³ Speaking at Berkeley, California, on March 23, 1911, Mr. Roosevelt said: "I am interested in the Panama Canal because I started it. If I had followed traditional, conservative methods I should have submitted a dignified state paper of probably two hundred pages to Congress, and then debate on it would be going on yet; but *I took the Canal Zone* and let Congress debate and while the debate goes on the canal does too."⁴

On December 23rd Colombia protested against the conduct of United States officials and suggested that the matter be referred to The Hague Tribunal for arbitration. To this proposal the United States would not assent. In 1909 Secretary Root proposed that Panama should pay Colombia \$250,000 a year for ten years from cash payments received from the United States. Public opinion in Colombia, however, was so hostile that proposal was rejected. Unsuccessful attempts to reach an agreement were made during the Taft Administration. The Thompson-Urrutia Treaty of 1914 provided that the United States should pay Colombia \$25,000,000 as indemnity for injuries due to Panama's independ-

¹ H. M. Chittenden, *The Atlantic Monthly*, January, 1916, p. 56.

² *These Eventful Years*, Vol. 2, p. 373.

³ P. 563.

⁴ Quoted by Joseph Bucklin Bishop, *Theodore Roosevelt and His Time*, Vol. 1, p. 308.

ence. This treaty was ratified by the Colombian congress but was rejected by the United States Senate.¹

Soon after his inauguration President Harding urged Congress to reach a settlement with Colombia. On March 1, 1922, ratifications of a treaty were exchanged whereby Colombia received \$25,000,000 from the United States. Thus was adjusted, in the words of a former United States Minister to Colombia, "the only real injustice committed by the United States against Latin American people."²

THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

On January 17, 1917, a treaty between the United States and Denmark was ratified whereby the Danish West Indies, embracing an area of 132 square miles, with a population of about 30,000 persons, were ceded to the United States for a payment of \$25,000,000. Negotiations for the purchase of these islands were inaugurated by President Lincoln and have been re-opened at intermittent periods since that time. The sale was consummated after a plebiscite in Denmark had given a favorable vote. It is significant, however, that there was no plebiscite in the islands. The Danish foreign minister suggested leaving the question of transfer to a referendum in the islands in accordance with the principle of self-determination, but "the United States refused to sanction it."³ The people of these islands were transferred from one sovereignty to another without any authorization on their part. Upon receipt of the news of the sale a local paper said editorially: "The merchandise is now off the counter, the undignified unique business being at last closed."⁴ In an exchange of official notes in connection with the sale is an extraordinary sentence by Secretary Lansing to the effect that "*the Government of the United States of America will not object to the Danish Government extending their political and economic interests to the whole of Greeland.*"⁵ Since

¹ Concerning the proposed payment to Colombia, Theodore Roosevelt wrote: "The proposed treaty is a crime against the United States. It is an attack upon the honor of the United States which if justified would convict the United States of infamy. . . . The payment can only be justified upon the ground that this nation has played the part of a thief, or of a receiver of stolen goods. . . . There are in every great country a few men whose mental or moral make-up is such that they always try to smirch their own people, and sometimes go to the length of moral treason in the effort to discredit their own national government." Theodore Roosevelt, *Fear God and Take Your Own Part*, pp. 339, 340, 324.

² Quoted by Graham H. Stuart, *Latin America and the United States*, p. 90.

³ Quoted by John Kenneth Turner, *Shall It Be Again*, p. 344.

⁴ Quoted by Luther K. Zabriskie, *The Virgin Islands of the United States of America*, p. 254.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

when has the United States been custodian of Greenland? Where did we derive the right to grant permission to another country to dominate it? Answers to these questions may vary but the fact remains that the Virgin Islands are now a possession of the United States. "The naval government of the Virgin Islands," says Arthur Warner, "is tempered with a civilian judicial system, and the legislative bodies set up by the Danes are still allowed to function, but their powers are slight and they are dominated by the Governor."¹ In a recent issue of the New York Times Current History Magazine there is an article entitled "Autocracy in the Virgin Islands." The author maintains that the United States Naval Government has unduly limited free speech and muzzled the press, and has sought to suppress trade unions. "The franchise is another cause of discontent. Of the 14,901 persons in St. Croix only 193 can vote; and of the 8,000 to 10,000 in St. Thomas, only 231. . . . The Virgin Islanders, who number about 20,000, according to a recent ruling of the State Department, cannot vote because they are not citizens and cannot become citizens because they are not aliens."²

INTERVENTION IN MEXICO

In addition to the control which the United States has acquired over foreign territory, she has frequently intervened in the Caribbeans and in Central America to restore order and to protect the lives and property of her citizens. In 1911 Diaz, who had been the autocratic ruler of Mexico since 1877, was forced to abdicate in favor of Madero. In 1913 Madero in turn was overthrown by Huerta and shortly afterward was assassinated. Huerta failed to secure recognition from the United States and was unable to establish order. During the short time he was in office more than one hundred Americans were killed. In April, 1914, some American sailors landed at Tampico to purchase gasoline. They were arrested but promptly released, with an expression of regret, in which Huerta joined. There had been other affronts and when Huerta failed to apologize in the form of a salute to the United States flag, President Wilson ordered the capture of the city of Vera Cruz. The American forces remained in that city from April 21st to November 23rd. Professor F. A. Ogg, of the University of Wisconsin, says

¹ Forum, August, 1924, p. 181.

² Eric D. Walrond, Current History Magazine, October, 1923, p. 122.

in this connection: "A breach was not justified by the facts; but, having started on a firm course, the President and his advisers felt obliged to follow it out. . . . The capture of Vera Cruz was an act of war. To the peoples of Latin America it looked like the beginning of a war of conquest, and in Mexico it was fiercely resented."¹

The State Department withheld recognition of Mexico and brought heavy pressure to bear upon the Mexican government in the effort to get these laws changed. Conference after conference between American financiers and the Mexican government failed to bring about an agreement. Senator Fall and powerful American interests strongly advocated armed intervention. Commenting upon the situation which prevailed during this period, Professor Thomas says: "The contest of the oil men with the government gives us the strange, perhaps we should say modern, spectacle of a group of private foreign individuals negotiating, sometimes defying, a government regarding its internal policy and, backed up by their State Department, attempting to dictate what that policy shall be."² In the end Obregon was forced to modify his position and recognition was accorded. At the end of 1923 President Coolidge intervened in Mexican affairs to the extent of selling guns and ammunition to the Obregon government and forbidding their sale to the de la Huerta revolutionaries.

HAITI

In July, 1915, American marines were landed on the islands of Haiti. For several years conditions had been growing steadily worse. Riots and rebellions were constantly occurring. The Government was heavily indebted to French, German and British bondholders. On two occasions foreign governments had made collections by force. There were rumors that Germany was negotiating another loan to be secured by certain port rights and control of customs. At the end of July 160 political prisoners were murdered by order of the President, who was subsequently cut to pieces himself. On August 16th Admiral Caperton was ordered by the United States State Department to take charge of the customs and to aid in restoring law and order. This was

¹ National Progress, pp. 293, 294.

² One Hundred Years of the Monroe Doctrine, p. 324.

done against the protests of the Haitian Government. United States marines have controlled the situation from that day to the present time. Martial law was established on September 3, 1915, and gradually extended to cover the whole country. A military censorship was established. The military government continued until May 3, 1916. The Convention which was ratified on that day provided for a financial protectorate over Haiti by the United States. The telegraphs and telephones are under the control of engineers appointed by the President of the United States. In March, 1922, Professor Carl Kelsey wrote: "To summarize, there are in Haiti today representing the United States, the following: 1. The military force. 2. The officers of the Gendarmerie. 3. The Receiver General and assistants. 4. The Financial Adviser. 5. Engineers and Medical men. 6. Diplomatic and Consular officials."¹ In March, 1924, a marine brigade of 88 officers and 1,334 men was concentrated at Port au Prince and Cape Haitien.²

There is no doubt that the presence of these American representatives has helped greatly in maintaining law and order. They have also made a very marked contribution to sanitation and health. Moreover, they have been a great commercial asset. Trade has increased rapidly. On the other hand, there has been an immense amount of protest against American intervention and bitter criticism of the conduct and practices of American representatives. In 1917 General Butler revived an old law of 1865 providing for compulsory service on local roads, known as the Corvee System. "Instead of working near their homes, men were being taken, sometimes driven manacled under charge of Haitian gendarmes, several days' journey on foot from their homes. . . . Some individuals worked two or three months instead of the two weeks theoretically required."³ This system was discontinued on October 1, 1918, although the law has not been repealed.

There has been considerable criticism of the conduct of the United States marines. In January, 1920, there was an attack on Port au Prince by insurrectionists. They were repulsed with great loss of life. Brigadier-General Barnett, who was in command of the Marines in Haiti from 1914 to

¹ The Annals of the American Academy, March, 1922, p. 148. This issue of the Annals contains an excellent 90-page summary of conditions in Haiti and Santo Domingo.

² Current History Magazine, May, 1924, p. 303.

³ Kelsey, p. 137.

1920, is authority for the statement that a total of 2,250 Haitians were killed.¹

There have been, moreover, numerous cases of individual misdemeanor and crime. In this connection, Professor Kelsey says that drunkenness was relatively common, that sexual assaults were not unknown, that third degree methods have been used, that there has been some cases of deliberate striking or shooting of natives. "The present Adviser (a representative of the United States) has been absent from Haiti continuously for almost a year, drawing his salary and per diem expenses of \$15."²

An official of the Department of State in a recent number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, while believing that the occupation should be continued because of benefits conferred, nevertheless says: "The American occupation of Haiti is one for which there is no strictly legal ground."³ In 1922 a report of a committee of the Foreign Policy Association, signed by 24 prominent American lawyers, denounced the following acts of the American forces: "The seizure and withholding of our forces in 1915 of Haitian national funds . . . the imposition and enforcement of martial law without a declaration of war . . . the methods employed by the United States, namely, the direct use of military, financial, and political pressure."⁴ A report of the Popular Government League, signed by a United States Senator and several outstanding university professors, declared that a survey of the evidence "exhibits Haiti as a promised land of loot for those who can smash down the protection given to these people by their ancient constitution and independence."⁵ Among many of the Haitian leaders there is intense bitterness against the United States for prolonging intervention. They are determined to regain their independence at an early date.

SANTO DOMINGO

Haiti and Santo Domingo are situated on the same island. The Dominican Republic covers the eastern two-thirds of the island. Following a series of riots and rebellions, American troops were landed on May 5, 1916. The Americans

¹ U. S. Senate, *Haiti and Santo Domingo Select Committee, Hearings*, Vol. 1, pp. 433, 434. This same volume contains a report by Admiral Mayo denying the charge made by Brigadier-General Barnett that "practically indiscriminate killing of natives had been going on for some time." p. 435.

² Kelsey, p. 147 (1922).

³ Sumner Welles, *The Atlantic Monthly*, September, 1924, p. 420.

⁴ Quoted by Thomas, p. 266.

⁵ Quoted by Thomas, p. 267.

sought to get the new government to sign a Convention similar to the one with Haiti. This the Dominicans refused to do. And so on November 29, 1916, there was set up "The Military Government of the United States in Santo Domingo," which lasted until July 12, 1924, when the United States Marines were withdrawn. For eight years Santo Domingo was governed by officers of the United States Navy. The native Congress no longer functioned. "If new laws were needed there was no way to get them except to issue executive orders and 589 such had been issued by December 31, 1920. . . . A more serious matter grows out of the fact that five and six years ago at the request of the State Department our marines were sent to the island. During all this time Congress has never directly approved or disapproved the action."¹

In 1921 Dr. Samuel Guy Inman, who has had wide experience in Latin America, wrote concerning conditions in Santo Domingo: "A military government is not designed to develop a people into self-expression or prepare them for self-government. In the first place there is too much government. Martial law always means regulation of every detail of life. People cannot meet in public gatherings to discuss their problems. The newspapers cannot discuss political questions, and criticisms of the military government are not to be thought of."² On July 12, 1924, the United States marines were withdrawn. The Dominican Government was obliged to ratify practically all the acts of our military government. The General Receiver of the Dominican Customs is an American citizen appointed by the President of the United States.

NICARAGUA

By the end of the first decade of this century Nicaragua had become notorious for its frequent revolutions. It had a record of fifteen presidents during a period of six years. In October, 1909, a band of Conservatives started a revolution. In November two American soldiers of fortune who held commissions with the revolutionaries were captured by President Zelaya's troops and executed. Whereupon President Taft severed diplomatic relations with the government and gave the revolution his open support. This led to the downfall of Zelaya and he was succeeded by José Madriz.

¹ Kelsey, p. 198.

² Problems in Pan Americanism, p. 287.

After a severe defeat the revolutionaries retired to Bluefields, where they were protected by American warships. The American Commander forbade the government forces to attack on the ground that "a bombardment or fighting in the streets would destroy the property of Americans and other foreigners."¹ On August 21, 1910, the revolutionaries captured Managua and set up a government. On June 6, 1911, a treaty was signed with the United States, by which Nicaragua was promised assistance in securing a loan of \$15,000,000 from American bankers. This loan was to be secured by the customs duties, which, during the life of the bonds, were to be collected by an official approved by the President of the United States. This treaty failed to receive ratification by the United States Senate. At the request of the State Department, two American banking houses purchased Nicaragua treasury bills to the amount of \$1,500,000. They were to be guaranteed by the customs revenues, which were to be administered by a representative of the bankers. At later periods additional funds were advanced until \$2,153,000 had been invested by American bankers.² As security they received 51 per cent of the stock of the National Railway, and 51 per cent of the stock of the National Bank. By the terms of the agreement the Republic is debarred from reducing the tariffs.

In 1912 the Conservative government was seriously menaced by Liberal revolutionaries and was able to maintain itself only by appealing to the United States for assistance. American marines were landed, assumed control of the National Railway and bombarded Barranca Fort. Seven American marines and bluejackets were killed. Officers of the United States dictated the election of a Conservative President and have kept a minority party in power ever since. "Since 1912," says Professor Munro, "the Government of Nicaragua has practically been maintained in office by the support of the United States."³

On June 24, 1916, a treaty was ratified between the United States and Nicaragua by which it was provided that for the sum of \$3,000,000 the United States should receive a ninety-nine year lease of the Corn Islands in the Caribbeans, a naval base upon the Gulf of Fonseca, and the right to construct and operate an oceanic canal across Nicaragua. While the negotiations for this treaty were in progress, Senator Elihu

¹ See D. G. Munro, *Five Republics of Central America*, p. 230.

² Munro, p. 261.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

Root wrote to a friend: "I confess I am a good deal troubled with it. . . . I have been looking over the report of the commanding officer of our marines in Nicaragua and I find there the following: 'The present government is not in power by the will of the people.' . . . And a further statement that the Liberals, that is to say, the opposition, 'constitute three-fourths of the country.' I am told that if the marines were withdrawn the present President would be obliged to leave the country or he would be expelled by a revolution." Senator Root then went on to say that he thought the treaty should be submitted to a referendum in Nicaragua or that a new government should be elected and a new treaty negotiated.¹

Costa Rica and Salvador protested vigorously against this agreement as a violation of treaties they had with Nicaragua. They took their protests to the Central American Court of Justice, which the United States had helped to create. This Court handed down decisions declaring that the rights of Costa Rica and Salvador had been violated. This action was disregarded by Nicaragua and the United States. The refusal of the United States to abide by the decision of the Court proved to be its death blow and it ceased to function on March 15, 1918.² "The situation which exists in Nicaragua today," wrote Professor Munro in 1918, "is inherently and fundamentally wrong."³ On February 7, 1924, Secretary Hughes declared that the United States Marines would be withdrawn, at a date, subsequently decided, not later than September, 1925.⁴

HONDURAS

In 1907 the United States and Mexico jointly intervened to prevent a general Central American war when President Zelaya of Nicaragua sent an army into Honduras to aid a revolutionary movement and when Salvador came to the assistance of Honduras. Representatives of the various republics concerned gathered at the Washington Conference, where the Central American Court of Justice was established and the perpetual neutrality of Honduras proclaimed. By 1907 the national debt of Honduras had reached the huge

¹ Quoted by S. G. Inman, *Problems in Pan Americanism*, pp. 309, 310.

² This Court was re-established in a modified form in 1923.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

⁴ For a summary of the good results of American intervention see an article by Professor C. E. Chapman, *American Review of Reviews*, October, 1922, pp. 405 ff.

total of \$125,000,000. Through the help of American bankers the bondholders agreed to accept about 15 per cent of the face value of the debt. The bankers agreed to make a loan of \$10,000,000 for the purpose of making this action possible on condition that the United States Government sign a loan convention with Honduras affording the necessary security. The agreement signed between the two governments on January 10, 1911, provided that the loan was to be secured by control of the Honduras customs, which should be administered by a representative approved by the President of the United States. The United States Senate failed to ratify this convention, as did also the Honduras Congress. Later in the year President Taft named Mr. T. C. Dawson as special commissioner to help negotiate peace between warring factions within Honduras and to select a president. In March, 1924, 167 United States marines were temporarily landed to protect American lives and property. In April Mr. Sumner Welles, special agent of President Coolidge, presided over a conference of Honduran leaders which selected a Provisional President.

OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES

Arrangements have recently been made by American bankers for a loan of \$6,000,000 to the republic of *Salvador*. These bonds are to run for twenty-five years, during which time at least 70 per cent of the customs duties are to be paid to a representative of the bondholders. During this period tariff duties shall not in the aggregate be lowered. The United States Government is involved in the transaction in three ways: First, in case of a controversy, "the Secretary of State" says Mr. Hughes, "has consented to use his good offices in referring such disputes to the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States." Second, in case of default, "the Secretary of State consented to assist in the selection of a collector of customs." Third, if such a collector is appointed he shall send copies of his reports to the State Department. The confidential circular sent out to prospective purchasers of these bonds said: "The bondholders are entitled to and will unquestionably receive the full protection of their own government. . . . It is simply not thinkable that after a Federal judge has decided any question or dispute between the bondholders and the Sal-

vador government, the United States government should not take the necessary steps to sustain such a decision."¹

Ecuador, Peru and Panama have all employed citizens of the United States as Financial Advisers to their respective governments. An American financial mission recently aided in the reorganization of the fiscal system of *Colombia*. A committee of international bankers, in which American bankers took a leading part, recently reorganized the national debt of *Mexico*. In *Bolivia* "the hardest bargain of all has been driven, with a loan of \$24,000,000 floated, which is guaranteed by the country's customs, by the stock in the government bank, by a government railroad, and finally by all the internal revenues of the country, which may be augmented at any time to suit the commission of the American bankers—which commission now assumes complete control of Bolivia's finances, including practically the power to dictate what Bolivia's tariffs and taxes shall be."²

FOREIGN INVESTMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

The Government of the United States is officially involved in foreign financial affairs to the extent of some eleven billion dollars, this being the amount loaned to European countries in connection with the World War. The indebtedness of these countries to the United States is as follows:

UNITED STATES WAR LOANS

Great Britain	\$4,661,000,000
France	3,847,521,000
Italy	2,015,079,000
Russia	236,726,000
Belgium	190,013,000
Greece	16,500,000
Roumania	15,507,000
	<hr/>
	\$10,982,346,000

In addition to these amounts \$878,664,000 was advanced by the United States to the various countries for relief and reconstruction, making a grand total of \$11,861,010,000.³

In addition to these government loans, an immense amount of American capital has been invested abroad. Whereas the

¹ See *The Nation*, October 31, 1923, p. 479; and October 24, 1923, p. 452.

² S. G. Inman, *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1924, p. 109.

³ Harvey E. Fisk, *The Inter-Ally Debts*, p. 349.

amount of American foreign investments in 1913 was only one billion dollars, in 1924 this amount had risen to *eight billion dollars*.¹ During the single year of 1924 United States citizens invested \$1,268,438,394 in foreign securities.² Foreign capital flotations now comprise approximately 20 per cent of our total national investments each year.³ On a single day recently sixty different kinds of foreign bonds were traded in on the New York Stock Exchange. United States investments in Latin America are very heavy. The amount loaned to governments and municipalities alone exceeds \$529,000,000 since the war.⁴ Herbert Hoover says that the total of American industrial and commercial investments in Latin America is "now estimated at considerably more than \$3,000,000,000 as compared with about \$1,000,000,000 in 1912. American capital now plays a dominant part in the development of the basic industries in Latin America, such as meat packing in the River Plate, petroleum in Mexico, Colombia and Peru and sugar and tobacco in Cuba."⁵

It seems certain that the volume of American foreign investments will continue to increase rapidly. The fact that *about half of the total gold supply of the world is now in the United States* will undoubtedly increase foreign investment.⁶ The plentifulness of American capital has reduced interest rates to a very low figure, which fact is another powerful incentive to foreign investments.

Since the Armistice American concessionaire hunters have been busy in various parts of the earth. Probably the best known of these enterprises was the so-called Chester concession in Turkey, which conveyed the right of exploitation of natural resources valued at ten billion dollars, but which has since been cancelled because of default in fulfilling conditions. The Financial Chronicle recently reported that an American firm, W. A. Harriman & Co., had secured a concession from the Soviet Government for 2,750,000 tons of manganese ore from the fields in the Georgian republic. If

¹ Current History Magazine, December, 1924.

² Current History Magazine, March, 1925, Section on World Finance.

³ Literary Digest, December 6, 1924, p. 80.

⁴ Financial Chronicle, November 3, 1923.

⁵ The Annalist, January 5, 1925, p. 13.

⁶ "Due largely to our favorable trade balances, recent years have witnessed an unparalleled flow of gold toward our shores, the total accumulation here having exceeded \$4,500,000,000 on August 1 of this year, as compared with less than \$3,000,000,000 three years ago. Ten years ago (July 1, 1914) the total stock of gold coin and bullion in the United States was \$1,890,000,000—only 40 per cent of the total today—yet this was sufficient to support our currency and credit structure."—John E. Barber, Financial Chronicle, November 29, 1924, p. 2492.

the terms of this agreement are completed the Soviet will receive about \$38,000,000.¹ Early in 1924 an announcement was made to the effect that the Sinclair Oil Company had acquired an important oil concession in Persia. In connection with the problem of oil supplies, Herbert Hoover said: "Unless our nationals reinforce and increase their holdings abroad, we shall be dependent upon other nations for the supply of this vital commodity within a measurable number of years. The truth of the matter is that other countries have conserved their oil at the expense of our own. We must go into foreign fields and in a big way."² Efforts are now being made by American manufacturers to secure access to an adequate supply of crude rubber.³ There is every indication that within the next decades an enormous sum of American capital will be invested in foreign lands in the effort to control large quantities of essential raw materials. Thus it is inevitable that henceforth the United States will be involved in the economic and financial affairs of the whole world.

¹ *Financial Chronicle*, October 18, 1924, p. 1802.

² Quoted in the *New Republic*, August 20, 1924, p. 355.

³ See *Foreign Affairs*, June 15, 1924, pp. 613 ff.

CHAPTER 5

WHAT SHALL THE UNITED STATES DO ABOUT IMPERIALISM AND NATIONALISM?

The extreme danger of European imperialism and nationalism to world peace is increasingly recognized in the United States. But only a limited number of her citizens yet realize that American imperialism and nationalism are regarded with serious apprehension in other parts of the world, especially in Latin America. At the time the Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed in 1823 it was received favorably in most quarters in the new hemisphere. In his message President Monroe set forth three propositions: First, European nations shall not be allowed to acquire further colonies or territories in the new world; second, European nations shall not be permitted to extend their political systems to any part of the Americas; third, the United States shall not interfere with existing colonies. Interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine so far as it relates to the first two phases has not been changed materially since its enunciation. There has, however, been a steadily increasing tendency to interpret the Monroe Doctrine as imposing the right and duty to intervene in the affairs of the nations of Central America and the Caribbean whenever they fail to preserve order or to protect American lives and property. Such interventions have been frequent occurrences, as we have already seen. The policy of the United States in this regard was clearly stated by President Roosevelt in his message to Congress of December, 1904: "Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere, the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however, reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power." In 1895 Secretary Olney said: "The United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law

upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition.”¹ When Mr. Taft was a member of the Roosevelt Cabinet in 1906 he said: “The frontiers of the United States virtually extend to Tierra del Fuego.”² In commenting upon the remark of President Cleveland, “we are sovereign on this continent,” Champ Clark, Speaker of the House of Representatives, said: “And we are.”³ In 1912 the Senate passed the Lodge resolution which declared that “the United States could not see without grave concern the possession” of any harbor in the American continents “by any corporation or association” related to a foreign government.

Assistance from the United States military and naval forces and diplomatic support from the State Department have enabled citizens of the United States to gain enormous power in the lands to the south of us, as we have already noted. That the steady territorial and economic expansion of the United States has seriously alarmed other nations is evident from the great mass of protests which have arisen in many countries. In a large volume written by a noted international lawyer of Chile, and published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 360 pages are devoted to comments by various distinguished men concerning the policy of the United States in Latin America.⁴ Many of these comments are highly favorable to the record of the United States. On the other hand, many of them are exceedingly critical. Professor Carlos Pereyra of Mexico, former member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, says: “Some recent North American critics of the Monroe Doctrine state that it constitutes an anachronism, an antiquity now obsolete. I think on the contrary, that the Monroe Doctrine is a living reality; a myth which serves as a cloak to the following natural fact; the ambitions of a powerful people who pretend to exercise their hegemony over a group of weak peoples, giving to their domination the insincere appearances of unselfishness and benevolence.”⁵ Marcial Martinez, a Chilean writer and diplomat, thinks that “this new policy deserves no other name than that of imperialism or hegemony. I shall call it from now on Napoleonism.”⁶ A former President of the Argentine Republic warns against “the new doctrines of intervention which condense the cloud in which the

¹ House Documents, 54th Cong., 1st sess., I, No. 1, pt. 1, p. 558.

² Quoted by Hiram Bingham, *The Montroe Doctrine*, p. 67.

³ Quoted by Alejandro Alvarez, *The Monroe Doctrine*, p. 386.

⁴ Alejandro Alvarez, *The Monroe Doctrine*, 1924, 573 pages.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 301.

rays of imperialism are hidden.”¹ An eminent Argentine lawyer and a grandson of a former president of that country, says: “The doctrine is dangerous because it is North American imperialism hidden under a principle of international law.”² In a book to which Raymond Poincaré wrote an introduction, F. Garcia Calderon says: “Everywhere the Americans of the north are feared. . . . It excites or suppresses revolutions; it fulfills a high vocation of culture. It uses or abuses a privilege which cannot be gainsaid.”³ Professor Charles Sarolea, of the University of Edinburgh, after a tour in Brazil, wrote: “They consider the Monroe Doctrine as a disguised form of imperialism. They look with suspicion at every move in Panama or Mexico.”⁴ Professor Bingham quotes “one of the most conservative writers of Latin America” as saying: “The Doctrine of Monroe is the shield and buckler of United States aggression; it is a sword suspended by a hair over the Latin continent.”⁵

It may be helpful for us to know also how we are regarded in certain quarters in Europe. The following quotation is taken from an ultra-conservative French Journal: “In Latin America the United States is trying to reduce her neighbors to economic fiefs, through the agencies of trusts, financial control, loans, and political intervention. . . . It makes little difference whether Democrats or Republicans are in power in Washington. For they do not represent two parties, but two plutocracies. . . . For the American Government now rests upon a monarchy of gold and aristocracy of finance. It is the prototype of that quantitative civilization that is striving to erect a new form of feudalism in the modern world.”⁶ A British journal recently ran an article on “The American Empire,” in which it said concerning our occupation of Haiti: “The facts disclosed were of an appalling character. They made, indeed, a record of frightfulness on the part of American marines—burnings and shootings, hanging and torture—so hideous that the good American public might well be excused for finding it incredible. Even today a minority only of Americans have realized that the officers of the United States Marine Corps have created for America a memory which has not been excelled among the records of imperial atrocity in our time.”⁷

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 354.

² New York Times, October 13, 1920.

³ Latin America, p. 298.

⁴ Quoted by Thomas, p. 385.

⁵ The Monroe Doctrine, pp. 72, 73.

⁶ Pierre Arthuys, in *La Revue Universelle*, January 15, 1923; reprinted in the Living Age, March 10, 1923, pp. 571, 576.

⁷ The New Statesman, July 1, 1922, p. 351.

In his Atlantic Monthly article, Dr. Inman says: "We are piling up hatreds, suspicions, records for exploitation and destruction of sovereignty in Latin America, such as have never failed in all history to react in war, suffering, and defeat of high moral and spiritual ideals. . . . It is impossible for anyone who has not come into close contact with these countries to realize how completely their governments are held in the hollow of the hand of the State Department at Washington."¹

After an exhaustive survey of the evidence an American professor exclaimed: "O Monroe Doctrine, what mistakes, not to say crimes, are committed in thy name!"² It is certainly high time that American citizens should awaken to the seriousness of the situation. The foreign policy of the United States is of enormous significance to the peace of the world. And yet very few citizens are informed as to what is going on in the State Department. Professor Shepherd, of Columbia University, says in this connection: "Supposedly independent republics have had their independence diminished or destroyed, their affairs taken over and their inhabitants and property made subject to officials acting under the orders of the President of the United States—all without the slightest constitutional warrant—and yet who among us seems noticeably to care?"³ Professor Powers explains the attitude of America by saying: "It would be unwarranted to attribute to Americans in this period of national expansion, a definite policy of deliberate and unlimited expansion. They have had no such policy, indeed, no consistent and persistent policy whatever, and they have consistently and sincerely condemned such a policy on the part of others. But they have had, like other peoples, what the outside world quite naturally construes as such a policy, a permanent instinct of self assertion which acts automatically in all situations. They don't want the earth—far from it. But whenever circumstances have directed their attention toward some concrete portion of it, it has looked good to them, and they have cast about successfully for reasons why they should possess it. They have wanted it, and if possible, have taken it, from impulse, and then have justified the taking by arguments developed later."⁴

The world is now tragically aware of the catastrophic

¹ July, 1924, pp. 107, 110.

² David Y. Thomas, *One Hundred Years of the Monroe Doctrine*, p. 274.

³ Wm. R. Shepherd, in *Mexico and the Caribbean*, p. 192, italics mine.

⁴ *America Among the Nations*, pp. 68, 69.

consequences of aggressive drifting on the part of European peoples during the decades prior to 1914. Bold indeed are the outlines of the handwriting on the wall that gives warning of a yet more terrible fate for future generations if the citizens of the United States remain much longer blissfully unconscious of the consequences of imperialism backed by unrestricted nationalism, blind and deaf to the approaching storm of resentment and hatred against American aggression, acquiescent and inactive as the danger becomes more imminent and acute.¹

WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE?

1. *The present interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine should be broadened so as to make the various nations of the Americas jointly responsible for its enforcement.* That is to say, the United States should no longer presume to act as guardian of the other nations of this hemisphere. If action is needed to prevent European countries from aggression, such action should come from a group of American nations or from an international agency, rather than from a single unit. Much of the resentment against the United States could be overcome if the Latin American countries were regarded as equal partners in the cooperative task of preserving the territorial or financial integrity of any nation that may be menaced. Such an interpretation would also help to safeguard Latin America against any possible aggression on the part of the United States. Such a precautionary measure is absolutely essential to the maintenance of cordial relations with the lands to the south of our borders. "The very thought," says Professor Bingham, "that we, proud in the consciousness of our own self-righteousness, sit here with a smile on our faces and a big stick in our hands, ready to chastise any of the American republics that do not behave, fairly makes their blood boil."² It is exceedingly important that the United States should give adequate evidence to indicate that such a policy will not be followed in the future. The true policy for the United States was enunciated by President Wilson in his message of December 7, 1915, when he pointed out that conditions have changed since the days of Monroe and said that on the part of the United States there

¹ For a strong defence of the present foreign policy of the United States see a pamphlet by Otto H. Kahn, *The Myth of American Imperialism*, published by the Committee of American Business Men, 15 Park Row, New York.

² Hiram Bingham, *The Monroe Doctrine: an Obsolete Shibboleth*, p. 64.

was now "no claim of guardianship or thought of wards, but, instead, a full and honorable association as of partners between ourselves and our neighbors, in the interest of all America, north and south. . . . All the governments of America stand, so far as we are concerned, upon a footing of genuine equality and unquestioned independence."

2. *The practice of sending United States military and naval forces into another country for the purpose of protecting American lives, property and investments should be abandoned forthwith.* In succeeding paragraphs substitutes for such intervention will be discussed. Just here it is important to emphasize the supreme danger of continuing the present practice. If the United States is justified in following this procedure then other nations possess a similar right. The exercise of this right means the perpetuation of the deadly system of imperialism which has already wrought such tremendous destruction. Consider for a moment what the continuance of such a policy would mean for the United States. American citizens are now investing their capital in every country on the globe and American merchants and concessionaire-seekers are to be found everywhere. Henceforth unstable government and disorders almost anywhere in the world will jeopardize American lives and property. Foreign trade and foreign investments are sure to increase rapidly during the coming decades. It is well known that merchants and traders in other lands often take undue risks because of confidence in receiving their government's support. For the Government of the United States to assume responsibility for safeguarding the property of her citizens throughout the world is a huge undertaking and one fraught with immense danger to international peace and goodwill. If the flag and marines are to follow the dollar then we may surely look forward to an era of increased hostility and violence. The continuance of such a policy is certain to bring us into serious conflict with other nations and will make inevitable the perpetuation of imperialism and militarism.

There are two doctrines in international law which deal with this problem. An Argentinian publicist set forth an idea which has come to be known as the Calvo Doctrine, the substance of which is this: A foreign government is not justified in employing armed forces or diplomatic measures in enforcing private financial claims based upon contract or the result of civil war, insurrection or mob violence. The Drago Doctrine, enunciated by a Foreign Minister of the

Argentine Republic, has a narrower scope.¹ It relates to public debts to citizens of a foreign country, as follows: The public debt should not occasion armed intervention nor even the actual occupation of the territory of American nations by a European Power. In the famous letter in which this doctrine was advocated, Dr. Drago said: "The collection of loans by military means implies the occupation of territory so as to enforce payment: and the occupation of territory implies the suppression or subordination of the local government of the territory thus occupied."² This doctrine was strongly endorsed by President Roosevelt in his message of December 5, 1905. In his instructions to the delegates of the United States to the Third Pan American Conference, Secretary Root said: "It has long been the established policy of the United States not to use its armed forces for the collection of ordinary contract debts due to its citizens by other governments." While he was Assistant Secretary of State in 1907, John W. Foster said in this connection: "We ought to protect our citizens against torts, injuries, and injustices done them, but when they voluntarily go into a country and make contracts, it is not our duty to follow them with the army and navy of the United States."³ General Horace Porter, a delegate of the United States, was the chief influence in securing the adoption of the Porter Proposition by the Second Peace Conference at The Hague, the substance of which was the agreement "not to have recourse to armed force for the recovery of contract debts claimed from the government of one country by the government of another country as being due to its nationals," except in cases of refusal to submit to arbitration or failure to abide by the award. It will be noticed that is not a complete acceptance of the Drago Doctrine. It is, however, a move in the right direction and should be supplemented by further agreements incorporating the essentials of the Calvo Doctrine as well. In reply to the question, what is the remedy for the present imperialistic practice, Professor Hobson, a distinguished English economist, says: "only one—an absolute repudiation of the right of British subjects to call upon their Government to protect their persons or property from injuries or dangers incurred on their private initiative."⁴

¹ For a full discussion of the Calvo and Drago Doctrines see an article by Professor Amos S. Hershey, *The American Journal of International Law*, January 1, 1907, pp. 26-45.

² *Pan American Magazine*, July, 1921, p. 89.

³ *American Society of International Law Proceedings*, 1907, p. 147.

⁴ *Imperialism*, p. 381.

A resolution has recently been introduced in the United States Senate which would direct all departments of the United States Government to refrain from "directly or indirectly engaging the responsibility of the Government of the United States, or otherwise on its behalf, to supervise the fulfillment of financial arrangements between citizens of the United States and sovereign foreign governments or political subdivisions thereof, whether or not recognized *de jure* or *de facto* by the United States Government, or in any manner whatsoever giving official recognition to any arrangement which may commit the Government of the United States to any form of military intervention in order to compel the observance of alleged obligations of sovereign or subordinate authority, or of any corporations or individuals, or to deal with any such arrangement except to secure the settlement of claims of the United States or of United States citizens through the ordinary channels of law provided therefor in the respective foreign jurisdictions, or through duly authorized and accepted arbitration agencies."

In connection with a dispute with the Spanish Government due to injuries to Spanish citizens in the New Orleans riots in 1851, Daniel Webster, who was Secretary of State at that time, said that foreigners are merely "entitled to such protection as is afforded to our own citizens" and that Spanish subjects "have certainly no cause of complaint, if they are protected by the same law and the same administration of law as natural born citizens of this country."¹ Numerous claims have since been made by foreign governments because of damages suffered as a result of mob violence in the United States. "In the majority of these cases," says Professor Hershey, "the United States Government has refused to admit liability in principle, but has granted compensation as a matter of grace and favor, or from a sense of magnanimity, sympathy, benevolence or policy."² If this is sound reasoning why does it not apply also to citizens of the United States in other lands?

3. *The United States should enthusiastically cooperate with other nations in seeking to create and strengthen effective international agencies through which disputes may be settled without resort to violence.* It should be kept constantly in mind that as contacts between nations increase and economic rivalry becomes more intense the probability of international friction is multiplied many fold. All the great nations are

¹ Quoted by Hershey, p. 33.

² *Ibid.*, p. 34.

becoming more and more industrialized. Industrial nations require access to raw materials in other lands, access to foreign markets in which to sell their surplus goods, and access to fields beyond their own borders where surplus capital may be invested. Just at the time when enormous quantities of raw materials are required, the nations find themselves confronted with a growing scarcity of essential raw products. This combination makes inevitable an intensified rivalry between nations for control of available supplies. In this connection, witness the increased tension between Great Britain and the United States over the question of oil. Moreover, the interdependence of the various parts of the earth is becoming more pronounced.

Nations have long since discovered that they cannot safely allow business and commerce within their own borders to go unregulated and have created social machinery to regulate "unfair competition" and other abuses. The Sherman Anti-Trust Law, the Federal Trade Commission and the Interstate Commerce Commission are illustrations in point. The monopoly of essential products within a country is now universally recognized to be a grave danger to public welfare. "In the international domain, on the other hand," says Professor Borchard, of Yale University, "unfair competition flourishes among the great powers in a fashion that sooner or later must lead to conflict. No statutory code declares it to be unfair; for the attempt to monopolize the economic resources of backward nations by the creation of spheres of influence, mandates, protectorates or colonies, the effort to control markets, trade routes, cables and coaling stations, and by tariff barriers to obtain preferential treatment, discriminate against competitors or stimulate home industry—all these are deemed worthy manifestations of state activity looking to national strength and prosperity."¹ International commerce and international finance desperately need regulation at the present time and appropriate international bodies for this purpose should quickly be created. The whole question of the distribution of the raw materials of the earth deserves serious and immediate attention by international conferences, as does also the extraordinarily vital question of tariffs. If further wars are to be averted the nations must also devise non-violent means of protecting property and investments of aliens within the various countries where stable government is lacking. Indeed the whole question of the

¹ Mexico and the Caribbean, edited by Blakeslee, p. 168.

relation of the more advanced nations to backward peoples should be the subject of continuous discussion in international gatherings, until a policy can be outlined which will provide adequate safeguards both for the vital interests of the backward peoples and for the lives and property of foreigners.

The essential nature of the modern world makes it imperative that effective agencies of international justice be created without delay. A beginning has already been made in the World Court and the League of Nations. The Economic Section of the League has had only limited success thus far because it has not been allowed to deal with the more fundamental economic problems which are threatening the peace of the world. But this section is capable of infinite expansion and might easily become an exceedingly effective agency if the various nations were willing to extend its jurisdiction and to enlarge its powers. The Mandates Section of the League has made a real beginning in working out an advanced policy for dealing with backward peoples. The mandates have probably been abused at times but this plan represents a marked advance over the old system of exploitation. The economic phases of imperialism are so complex and so deep rooted that a complete solution of the various problems will require years of continuous endeavor and much forbearance and patience on the part of all who are involved. Cooperative action by the various nations is essential to progress in this effort. And that leads to our fourth point.

4. *The United States should lead the way in proclaiming a new conception of nationalism.* The old theory of the absolute sovereignty of the nation needs to be abandoned. It should be supplanted by a new conception of the rights and interests of groups of nations as being transcendent above the interests of any single nation. That is to say, we need to carry one step higher a process which has long been operating. There was a time when strong individuals were sovereign. They acted as they pleased and acknowledged no law above their own desires. There was a long period when cities were sovereign. There was a day when states were sovereign. The principle of sovereignty makes impossible adequate processes of government between sovereign entities. Absolute sovereignty means lawlessness. International anarchy will continue so long as each nation proceeds on this basis. International peace depends upon the creation of effective processes of justice between nations. The creation of these

agencies is delayed by the theory of absolute national sovereignty. The price of peace and justice is the willingness of nations voluntarily to surrender that portion of their sovereignty which stands in the way of creating effective agencies of international justice. For a powerful nation like the United States to insist upon absolute sovereignty and to play a lone hand is to obstruct the path that leads away from international anarchy. For if we insist upon being a law unto ourselves we make it easier for other nations to do likewise. So urgent is the need for a new conception of nationalism and a new willingness to abide by decisions of international agencies of justice that it would be nothing short of a calamity for the world if the United States should insist upon going her own way without regard to international agencies. Happily there is every reason to believe that the United States will not attempt to live in "splendid isolation" but will assume her full share of responsibility in cooperative world undertakings. This process should be hastened because of the complexity and urgency of the world situation. The imperative need for international government and the tremendous power possessed by the United States seem to the writer to be conclusive reasons why the United States should join the World Court and the League of Nations without further delay.

The foreign policy of the United States in these next decades may prove to be the deciding factor in determining whether or not militant nationalism, greedy imperialism and international anarchy are to lead the nations on to further wars, or whether an era of international peace and justice shall be ushered in by outlawing war as a crime and by creating effective social machinery through which a new conception of nationalism may find expression. If America is to follow an idealistic and constructive foreign policy a very much larger number of her citizens must become informed as to the real nature and consequences of imperialism. "Why," says an English authority in this realm, "does Imperialism escape general recognition for the narrow, sordid thing it is? Each nation, as it watches from outside the Imperialism of its neighbors, is not deceived; the selfish interests of political and commercial classes are seen plainly paramount in the direction of policy. So every other European nation recognizes the true outlines of British Imperialism and charges us with hypocrisy in feigning blindness.

This charge is false; no nation sees its own shortcomings. . . . All the purer and more elevated adjuncts of Imperialism are kept to the fore by religious and philanthropic agencies; patriotism appeals to the general lust of power within a people by suggestions of nobler uses, adapting the forms of self-sacrifice to cover domination and the love of adventure. . . . It is precisely in this falsification of the real import of motives that the gravest vice and the most signal peril of Imperialism reside. . . . Imperialism has been floated on a sea of vague, shifty, well-sounding phrases which are seldom tested by close contact with fact. . . . It is the besetting sin of all successful States, and its penalty is unalterable in the order of nature.”¹

Two courses are now open to the United States. She may travel the road of aggressive nationalism and greedy imperialism that leads to hostility and war, or she may proceed in the direction of international cooperation through effective agencies of justice. National violence and international government are the alternatives. Upon the choice made by the United States in these coming years depends in large measure the prospects for permanent peace and justice throughout the earth.

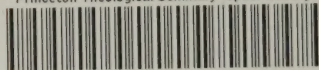
¹J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism*, pp. 207, 209, 390.

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